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# East Europe Report

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25 JULY 1986

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ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN WATER MANAGEMENT--Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/6/1986--Wednesday, June 25, Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca received Antal Kovacs, secretary of state, the State Office of Water Management of the Hungarian People's Republic. On the occasion the sides looked into ways to develop further the Romanian-Hungarian collaboration in point of water management. The same day a convention was signed between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on settling the hydraulic engineering problems related to the waters that are borders or traversed by borders. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1627 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /8918

CSO: 2020/164

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### DELAYS IN NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAM FORECAST

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 86 p 14

[Article: "Czechoslovakia Is Figuring on Delays in the Nuclear Program--Consequences Expected With Respect to Power Supply--Retrofitting To Improve Safety--Affected as Reactor Producer--No Environmental Lobbies"]

[Text] Officially, Prague is stating that irrespective of the "accident" at Chernobyl in the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia would adhere to its energy program as outlined in the 5-year plan for 1986-1990. According to it, the highest priority is assigned to expanding nuclear energy. Within the planning apparatus and among energy specialists, however, such a proclamation is met with many-sided reservations, even when one is aware as to what plans and energy complications will arise in the event a delay should occur for safety reasons. However, this situation is being considered as "possible" all the way through "probable."

The share of nuclear energy in power production in Czechoslovakia, which amounted to 14.6 percent in 1985 is expected to rise to 28 percent by 1990 according to the plan goals. Of the planned 88 billion kwh in 1990, 25 billion are to come from nuclear power plants. The goals for the year 2000: nuclear power plants are to not only provide all of the power increments, but also take over production of a substantial portion of the electric power hitherto produced on the basis of coal and petroleum. For the year 2000, a share of roughly 60 percent of power production is being mentioned as being nuclear.

The reason for the strong expansion of nuclear energy is easily found in the directives for the 5-year plan. With the exception of natural gas, the resource side of the energy balance shows no increases in petroleum or coal. Thus, by 1990 around 94 million fewer tons of brown coal and 25 million fewer tons of bituminous coal are to be extracted than the plan sector which covered 1980-1985--a figure which was never achieved. This is in line with the finding that power production in coal-fired power plants will continually decline. Among other things, this is said to be necessary for the reduction of environmental damage which is being sought.

Energy is one of the weak spots--probably the most dangerous one--of the entire 5-year plan. In the energy balance, optimum utilization of resources is assumed and in consumption, the highest percentage of conservation is good in

the plan. Should Chernobyl result in delays in the expansion of nuclear power plants, serious consequences will result with respect to power supply.

In Prague it is considered certain that the nuclear program will be continued in principle because, as far as the energy producers are concerned, there is no alternative. Czechoslovakia stands or falls with nuclear energy as an industrial country. On the other hand, it is assumed that a safety-technical retrofitting of both operating power plants as well as nuclear power plants under construction will become necessary.

The Chernobyl disaster has yet a second unpleasant side with respect to the Czechoslovak economy. Next to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is the only country in CEMA which produces nuclear reactors for the other member countries. For this purpose, the organization "Interatomenergo" was established and coordinates this work within CEMA. The reactors are manufactured at the Skoda concern in Plzen. The annual capacity of the plant is around three units. Between 1981 and 1988 some 21 reactor blocks of 4,400-MW capacity of the VVER (in other words, different from those at Chernobyl) are to be produced here. Of these, 10 are destined for Czechoslovakia, 4 each for Hungary and Poland, and 3 for the GDR. Ten units have already been delivered.

Although it is not believed in Prague that Hungary, Poland, or the GDR can forego nuclear energy (with respect to Poland, this is a decided possibility in the short or middle term), there is fear of a delay in the development tempo. Worries of the producers are concentrated primarily on the 1,000-MW reactors which are already in process and are scheduled for delivery at the end of the 1980's. The production plan calls for two such reactors per year. Every hesitation of foreign customers would be detrimental to the 5-year plan in machinebuilding and would hit hard at Czechoslovak exports. Serious employment problems in the Plzen region would result where many thousands of workers depend on this production; but problems would also occur in the many supplier enterprises throughout the country.

There is an awareness that safety-technical refitting or retrofitting of nuclear power plants must, for the most part, be accomplished with systems imported from the West. This would lead either to unplanned excess imports or to limited changes in other import positions, most likely in consumer goods areas. Certainly, these problems involving the necessity to take safety-technical measures have a countervailing effect throughout the entire economic plan, particularly since Czechoslovakia has no environmental lobbies and since the growth thinking in the party and state apparatus is a firm component of state ideology.

The government also need not fear any mass movement against the utilization of the atom as an energy source. For one, there is no opportunity and no platform--with the exception of a small number of dissidents--to become articulate. For another, the people are aware that in their situation the alternative means cutting off electric power and, in most cases, also the availability of heat.

They have already seen a demonstration a number of times as to what this means, particularly during the weeks which register the lowest temperatures and during which they must live for hours without light or heat. The cities were dark, rail transportation was limited, factories sent workers on compulsory furlough, and schools declared "coal vacations." And so, a hypothetical repetition of the "accident" at Chernobyl appears to be less gruesome for the people than to suffer permanently from a power shortage.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## INDUSTRIAL FURNACES, HEAT-INTENSIVE PROCESSES CONSUME ENERGY

Leipzig ENERGIEANWENDUNG in German Vol 34, No 4, Jul-Aug 85 pp 125-127

[Article by Wolfgang Lange, KDT (Chamber of Technology), and Wilhelm Schlicker, KDT (Footnote 1) (Engineer Wolfgang Lange and Diplomated Engineer Wilhelm Schlicker, Institute for Energetics/Central Office for the Efficient Use of Energy, Leipzig): "Selected Results, Trends and Conclusions from the Third Investigation of Energy-Consuming Installations, Using as an Example the Set of Records of 'Units for Technical Heat Application Processes.'"]

[Text] This set of records includes units, installations and equipment in which the specific use of heat produces technical results or in which semi-finished products, goods and other products are--through the use of heat--manufactured, converted or improved in their utility value. In the broadest sense this includes industrial furnaces, driers, evaporators, heaters (particularly for chemical processes) and heat-consuming installations, for example, those of the textile, timber, cellulose, paper, rubber, plastics and food industries, which operate mainly in the area of low and intermediate temperatures.

Reporting was required when solid, liquid or gaseous fuels, electric energy or thermal energy was used in the units, and their connected load or maximum heat load reached or exceeded the following values:

40 kilowatts for use of electric energy

25 cubic meters per hour for use of city gas

10 kilograms per hour for use of heating oil or other liquid fuels

120 kilowatts for use of solid fuels, natural gas, liquid gas and other burnable gases

100 kilograms per hour for use of steam

120 kilowatts for use of hot or warm water.

Along with questionnaires, reporters were given appropriate keyword lists. Information was obtained on the following questions, among others:

- type of unit, technology, energy or heat source used, and management.
- annual energy consumption, year of construction, throughput capacity.
- component equipment (fitted out with burners, waste heat recovery installations, process measuring and control [MSR] technology, and others).

## 1. Heat-Consuming Installations

In consideration of the above inclusion limits, approximately 48,000 units were investigated, of which in each case about 60 to 70 parameters were stored. The annual energy consumption of these units corresponds to a crude lignite equivalent of approximately 170 million metric tons. The breakdown of energy sources (Table 1) should be considered from the viewpoint of substitution measures. While the share of electric energy remained almost constant in comparison with previous years, the share of gaseous fuels and heat energy went up considerably. As compared with these growth rates, there is a reduction in the share of liquid and solid fuels. While in technical processes liquid fuels were mainly replaced by city gas, natural gas and solid fuels, the direct use of solid fuels in the low and intermediate temperature range was reduced in favor of thermal energy, which is more easily handled by control technology.

Table 1. Breakdown of Energy Sources in Heat-Consuming Installations, in Relation to Annual Energy Consumption

Energy Source	Share in Percent
Electric energy	5.3
Gaseous fuels	21.4
Liquid fuels	3.4
Solid fuels	14.6
Heat energy*	55.3

\*Steam, hot water, and others

Table 2 shows the breakdown of the units into the important use groups, included according to their share in the number or the annual energy consumption. These numbers show that industrial furnaces definitely constitute the main focus. Of particular interest for energy economy also are--in addition to the drivers--the evaporators (not to be confused with steam generators!) and heaters, with a share of almost 73 percent of the annual energy consumption but only 9 percent of the number of units. This is further emphasized by the fact that in this use group the technological parameters have an increased effect on energy consumption. The numbers for heat-consuming installations show once again the multitude of the units used here and their (relatively) low energy consumption. This use group includes, for example--but without spelling this out--installations of the textile and leather industry, the timber, cellulose and paper industry, the rubber and plastics industry, the food industry and the dye industry.

Table 2. Share of Units by Use Groups, According to Number and Annual Energy Consumption

Use Group	Share in Percent	
	Number	Annual Energy Consumption
Industrial furnaces	31.1	39.5
Driers	18.4	22.8
Evaporators and heaters	8.8	22.6
Heat-consuming installations	41.7	15.1

Nearly 80 percent of the annual energy consumption of technological heat use is concentrated in the Ministries for Chemical Industry, Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash, and Coal and Energy, as well as the Ministry for Construction Industry. In these areas there are energy-intensive processes such as heating of fluids and gases (chemical reaction processes), smelting and sintering of ores, melting of metals, drying of coal (for example, for the production of briquettes), and calcining (cement and brick industries). Analysis of the breakdown by age in the units used in technological processes supports emphatically the increased economic power of our industry. More than three fourths of all units were erected in the last 20 years: 51 percent, in the last 10 years alone. The energy significance of renovation processes also is to be sought in the fact that the newer (more up to date) installations have in principle a lower specific energy consumption than the older ones; thus, 51 percent of the installations consume only 29 percent of the energy. This trend is exactly opposite in the older age groups; their share decreases more with increasing age than the energy consumption. This fact is brought out still more clearly in the case of industrial furnaces. Installations in use more than 50 years were chiefly brick kilns, surface refining installations, or driers. Here the installation age is not always a meaningful value because a number of these old installations have been restored or rationalized. A typical example of this is the beehive kilns of the brick industry, which were converted to circular tunnel kilns; the latter, besides labor savings, had simultaneous advantages in increased quality and reduced energy expenditure. In the renewal according to plan of technological units, these and similar rationalization methods are suited to be put into practice more than heretofore.

Particular attention is paid by our management to the use of process measuring and control technology, particularly that based on micro- and power electronics, because this is an essential prerequisite for energy-efficient operation and the determination of energy consumption by the installations. For this reason, within the scope of evaluating the installation parameters recorded, the extent to which installations were provided with process measuring and control technology was analyzed. The results determined indicate progress achieved in this area, but also show that there is potential for more energy savings. Since 1981, the minimum required measuring and control technology for energy economy has been established by TGL 38264. In 1984 it was brought into line with the new increased demands for automated process control. About 21,000 of the units included were measured by this high standard. The difference still

in existence from the TGL values is almost without exception caused by installations which were erected before the TGL went into effect and are now gradually being retrofitted.

Of the installations, one fifth work according to energy consumption standards founded on technology-economics.

A further main focus of the evaluation was the utilization of secondary energy. So as to carry out a certain delimitation, the investigations were concentrated on process waste gas or flue gas quantities obtained, and all fuel-heated installations were considered first of all. Here installations operated with gaseous fuel as well as those with liquid or solid fuels were analyzed. This concerned 20 percent of all technological units. The utilization of this waste-gas potential depends to a particular extent on the temperature level of the waste heat quantity obtained and the associated equipment solution.

In about two thirds of the installations considered, waste gases are obtained with a temperature level of less than 300°C which, however, are insufficiently utilized. A greater utilization level is obtained for waste gases with a higher temperature level; however, this should not blind one to additional potentialities, especially since solutions are available for these and since in general waste gas enthalpy can be advantageously used for preheating combustion air.

In the meantime, solutions applied for utilizing waste gases with a temperature level of less than 300°C for space heating, hot water preparation, or technological use of other processes (situated before or after the waste-heat-producing process) prove that there is a technical solution for the generally known problem of the frequent absence of simultaneity between waste gas production and heat demand.

## 2. Industrial Furnaces

In the complex of technological heat processes, industrial furnaces have been at the center of attention for years because of their elevated share in energy consumption. Analyses have shown again and again that there is considerable potential in this area. Although in recent years progress has been made, technical conditions, measurement and control technology equipment, utilization level of waste heat and use of nominal capacities do not satisfy the requirements of rational energy use. In the conclusions of the 5th Energy Seminar in November 1984, the presiding committee of the Chamber of Technology therefore passed a resolution to establish an increase in energy efficiency in technological energy application processes, including industrial furnaces and drying installations; this resolution is a central Chamber of Technology objective within the framework of the Chamber of Technology initiative at the 11th SED Party Congress.

As shown by the Third Investigation of Energy-Consuming Installations, about 15,000 industrial furnaces are in use at present in our republic. Their annual energy consumption corresponds to a crude lignite equivalent of approximately 68 million metric tons. The energy source use breakdown for industrial furnaces (Table 3) deviates considerably from the breakdown for all technological installations shown in Table 1. As expected, the use of heat energy is

lower, while more gas and solid fuels are used. Solid fuels are used predominantly in calcining and sintering (cement and brick production).

Table 3. Breakdown of Energy Sources of Industrial Furnaces, in Relation to Annual Energy Consumption

Energy Source	Share in Percent
Electric energy	7.2
Gaseous fuels	45.3
Liquid fuels	7.6
Solid fuels	32.2
Heat energy	7.7

Analysis of materials treated in industrial furnaces gives interesting information. Thus, for example, in more than half of all furnaces, metals are heated, melted or heat-treated. In just one fourth of the furnaces, stone and earth or ceramics and glass are treated. Chemical products are processed in 11 percent of all furnaces.

When industrial furnaces are arranged according to their technological process, a grouping according to share of annual energy consumption clearly shows a large share in the raw materials industry, whereas, on the other hand, going by number of units, the large number of small installations used for heat treatment and melting leaps to the eye.

Further investigations of the main foci for measures of rational energy use reveal that installations of the metallurgical, building materials and chemical industries show high median energy consumption per unit (from 70 to 95 terajoules per year). Here the building materials industry, with the high energy intensity in calcining and sintering processes in cement and lime production, is in the lead. A following group is made up of installations of the glass and ceramics industry, with on average approximately 20 terajoules per year and per unit. In the areas of the metal-working industry these values are less than 10 terajoules per year.

Analysis of the breakdown according to age indicates the level of renovation of industrial furnaces achieved to date. With a little more than 4 percent per year in the last 10 years, it is clearly higher than the values indicated up to now by industrial furnace builders (less than 1 percent per year). Here as well, it is determined that 75 percent of all industrial furnaces are within the normative service life. In comparison with the median energy consumption per unit, there is a trend wherein installations of earlier years of construction show a higher value. The relatively low values for the age groups above 40 years may possibly be due to equipment in these groups being in use for only a relatively small fraction of the time; however, it cannot be excluded that reductions in energy consumption are due to reconstruction. For industrial furnaces the energy economy parameter analysis is somewhat better than for heat-consuming installations: about one fourth of the installations operate under energy consumption standards founded on technical economies.

Waste heat utilization in industrial furnaces has made considerable progress in the last few years. In large installations secondary energy utilization has already been achieved in reconstructed units. However, the temperature efficiency of 25 percent on average for heat utilization installations is unsatisfactory. It is possible to save energy also where industrial furnaces are operated without waste heat utilization. After all, this applies to about 20 percent of all industrial furnaces. For gas and oil heated furnaces 37 percent of the installations are operated with waste heat utilization. The main focus of unrecovered waste heat is in the range of waste heat temperatures up to 600°C. Here it is necessary to introduce or develop effective solutions.

The combustion efficiency in gas and oil heated industrial furnaces is determined to a considerable extent by the burner systems used. In technological processes 96 percent of all industrial furnace burners are operated with fuel gases and 4 percent with fuel oil. Nearly four fifths of burners are used for melting, heating and heat-treatment processes; here co-current and cross-current nozzle mixing burners and whirling stream burners are predominant. It is necessary to replace these with available, newly developed and up-to-date burner systems. For that, the competent product groups create the necessary conditions in the form of application rules.

### 3. Conclusions

The main foci of prospective rationalization activities for industrial furnaces or for heat-consuming installations must be in accordance with the results of the Third Investigation:

--Exact, objective performance of process analyses to uncover and utilize energy resources as a basis for reconstruction and rationalization projects, among other things, also for the forced continuation of necessary renovation processes.

--Putting into effect the newest findings from science and technology in further work with energy consumption norms for new products and processes in connection with the further improvement of product quality.

--Extensive utilization of the waste heat potential, particularly in the lower temperature area (less than 600°C), by development and application of plant engineering lacking at present for these applications and at the same time consistent use of existing newly developed heat exchangers in the high temperature area (here the "Waste Heat Utilization Installation" Applications Center in the "Ernst Thaelmann" Heavy Machinery Construction Combine State Enterprise, Magdeburg, is to give required support).

--Gradual replacement of obsolete types of burners (on the basis of prepared application rules) by newly developed, up-to-date solutions with simultaneous optimization of the combustion process and heat transfer to the heat recipient, including waste heat utilization for combustion air preheat (appropriate introductory support is to be given by manufacturing enterprises in coordination with the product group leader enterprises).

--Preparation and use of process measuring and control technology which satisfies the requirements of TGL 38264 for new construction as well as for existing installations.

ECONOMY

POLAND

### USSR SHIPBUILDING MINISTER ASSESSES COOPERATION PLANS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 May 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Zbigniew Wyczesany: Cooperation in the Shipbuilding Industry Advantageous for both Countries--A Conversation between RZECZSPOLITA and Igor Bielousow]

[Text] Igor S. Bielousow, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and minister of the shipbuilding industry in the USSR, recently visited Poland as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation at the invitation of the Sejm presidium. RZECZSPOLITA asked Bielousow to comment on the cooperation between the shipbuilding industries of Poland and the Soviet Union as it stands today and to look at future cooperation.

[Question] On 4 May 1984, a long-range program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Poland and the USSR was signed in Moscow. Last year an international agreement was signed concerning cooperation in shipbuilding industries, with particular attention paid to decreasing technological dependence on Western industry. Comrade Minister, to date, how would you evaluate the implementation of the resolutions found in the agreement? What are the new possibilities for our two countries in this area?

[Answer] The agreement signed last year between our two countries defines the long-term tasks and the enormous amount of work to be accomplished together over the 5-year plan for 1986-90 in the Soviet and Polish shipbuilding industries. Among other things, the agreement foresees a specified number of ships ordered by the Soviet Union to be constructed in Polish shipyards with increasing Soviet technical cooperation. I would like to mention that in the current 5-year plan Soviet orders for Polish ships are much greater than during the years 1981-85, while the value of supplies has doubled to nearly 2 billion rubles, doubling in other words. At the same time, it was planned in the agreement to broaden technical cooperation in the shipbuilding industry. We paid particular attention to achieving maximum independence from Western equipment supplies. The agreement also foresees cooperation in introducing new technology into the shipbuilding industry. At this point I must say that Polish shipyard workers presently build ships on a high technical level. This is not

just my opinion, it is also the opinion of Soviet shipbuilders. Soviet sailors and fishermen who use the ships have a similar opinion about the quality of Polish ships. Comrade Guzhenko, minister of the maritime fleet, gives Polish ships a high grade, as does Comrade K. S. Karpov, Soviet minister of fish industry.

In appraising the implementation of the agreement's resolutions to date it should be stated that a lot has already been done in order to be independent of the West. Ship equipment imports, which in the past Poland bought for hard currency from Western firms, has decreased greatly. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that this was achieved through joint efforts by Soviet and Polish producers. This resulted in the fact that the present extent of Western imports for ships is already limited. Looking objectively at the issue, what is still imported can be produced in both our countries. During a meeting held a few days ago with Comrade Maciejewicz, minister of metallurgy and the machine building industry, we decided to look over again in detail the already limited list of ship equipment imported from the West. I think that a joint decision will be made soon on the question of complete independence from imports of such equipment. I am convinced that the conditions exist for the elimination of this dependence.

[Question] One can see that the Polish shipbuilding industry has a bright future. In the past, Soviet orders have been the main impetus of its development. In addition to merchant and fishing ships, specialized ships including ships used for oil and gas exploration have been recently ordered from our shipyards. How much specialized equipment for these ships can the Polish shipbuilding industry expect the Soviet Union to supply?

[Answer] As defined in the 1986-90 5-year plan, there is a precise division of work and tasks in this area. This concerns not only the construction of specific types of ships in individual countries, but also common tasks in outfitting and equipping these ships. The same is true of the cooperation in constructing gas and oil exploration ships. The tasks of each partner are defined in detail. We have taken into consideration the great future that will result from the growth in oil and gas exploration and the necessary development of the technical means in this field. In the Soviet ministry of the shipbuilding industry a program for action has been accepted for specialized equipment production for these units. Some elements of the equipment are produced by industries under other Soviet ministries. The construction of new types of technical ships by Polish shipyards creates new tasks for the Polish machine industry. These questions will be the object of intense review when the next 5-year plan is prepared. There is no doubt that this type of ship will be greatly needed.

Returning, however, to current issues and to the implementation of the current 5-year plan, this is an area where there is constant and systematic cooperation between our ministry and the ministry of metallurgy and machine industry, as well as the ministry of foreign trade. We try to solve all problems without delay, although sometimes some of them are very complex.

[Question] It is known that the Soviet shipbuilding industry is one of the largest in the world, employing nearly one million people and has a developed scientific-technical base. In light of this fact, which activities are foreseen for broadening direct cooperation between individual shipyards, projection offices, and other institutions during the period after the development of cooperation and assembling equipment, which are to be implemented through trade agreements? In my opinion, this would serve a more complete exchange of experience of technical construction of ships and the production of the highest world standards of ship equipment.

[Answer] Essentially, this is an area in which we have much to do together. We are satisfied with the results gained to date from cooperation with our Polish partners, and I am speaking frankly. The present level of cooperation, however broad, cannot be the cause for self-assurance that everything is completed. I know that Polish shipyard workers have the same opinion.

In agreement with the recommendations of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we will develop our academic and technical cooperation and the exchange of experience between construction offices and other institutions. Possible directions of activity are diverse. There exists, for example, an urgent need to define the possibilities of production specialization for both partners' needs in light of the fleet requirements. We must set a direction for specialization and assign tasks in cooperation. These measures will promote improving the shipbuilding pace both in Poland and in the Soviet Union. Often the time required to construct a ship is too long; thus we should jointly work out new technical solutions in the shipyards themselves. For this reason we also attach great importance to the exchange of experience and new technology and to broadening cooperation in outfitting shipyards with technical means. Many of these problems are covered by the agreement signed by our industries, but in my opinion the possibilities for cooperation can be even greater. I discussed this with Minister Maciejewicz and we decided that in the future we will look at new activities in this area, such as direct contact and visits of Polish and Soviet specialists to shipyards and other institutions. This will help us solve many problems in an operative manner. The extent of these direct contacts will be decided by the needs expressed by the specialists themselves. It has already been decided that a group of engineers from Soviet shipyards and other plants will come to Poland. We are, of course, prepared to accept Polish specialists in the Soviet Union.

[Question] One last question. During your visit to Poland, Comrade Minister, you had the opportunity to become better acquainted with our country. What impression of Poland will you take back with you? What has made the greatest impression on you?

[Answer] I will leave Poland with many impressions, as will my colleagues in the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. This is my third trip to your country, having been here in January 1983 and June 1985. We experienced feelings of friendship, brotherhood, and respect for the delegation

everywhere we went. We take that as an expression of sentiment for our entire Soviet nation. We had frank and open discussions, and felt as if we were among comrades and friends. One thing that was especially noticeable was the increase of optimism in everyone we met and the certainty of overcoming the difficulties still found in your country's economy. Our visits to workplaces in the Opole region, Katowice, and Plock confirmed this.

The reception our delegation received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the People's State Council, is a particularly vivid memory. In a way which was deeply reasoned, he presented the socio-political situation Poland and the enormous work led by the party and the government to strengthen the socialist construction in your country. We had a very interesting conversation with the president of the Sejm, Zbigniew Messner, and the minister of foreign affairs, Marian Orzechowski.

Our delegation's stay occurred during the observation of the 41st anniversary of the victory over fascism. I would like to thank all of those people who took part in the commemoration of the memory of Soviet and Polish soldiers who gave their lives in the fight to liberate Poland. I would also like to send our respects to all our Polish friends through your newspaper.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

13073/9190  
CSO: 2600/467

ECONOMY

POLAND

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION PROJECTS WITH USSR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 May 86 p 5

[Article: Polish and Soviet Academic and Business Cooperation]

[Text] The direct and systematically developed cooperation of production factories and academic institutions in Poland and the Soviet Union exhibits increasingly better results.

The academic and technical cooperation of nearly 30 years between the General K. Swierczewski Precision Goods Factory in Warsaw and the Kalibr Tool Factory in Moscow has recently been broadened to include new undertakings. In accordance with the mutually accepted program, work has begun on design and preparations for cooperation in the production of slide calipers and micrometers with electronic readings. The first consignment of the newest Polish-Soviet measuring tools, which are very precise, will be produced in two years. It is worth noting that the time saving, reformed worker brigade labor system recently introduced to the Warsaw factory was inspired by the experience of the Kalibr staff in the creation of such groups.

The L. Warynski Construction Machinery Plant in Warsaw, a producer of excavators and hydraulic equipment (known for years on the Soviet market), has been cooperating for the last 6 months with the Kalinin Mechanized Plant in Moscow. The Soviet partner supplies Polish excavators with multiple-piston pumps which have changeable output levels. These pumps decrease fuel consumption by the machine by approximately 20 percent. They will be installed next year after being tested in 200 excavators. However, controls also produced at the Kalinin Plant for the Servo gear system for operator assistance will be used this year in the K-611 and K-612 excavator series. For its part, the Warynski Plant will supply elastic high pressure cable to the USSR.

An agreement in March 1986 to introduce modern technology into agricultural production began a new era of cooperation between the Institute of Plant Cultivation and Acclimatization in Radzikow near Warsaw and Soviet scientific-research agricultural centers. Fodder beet and rape seed, mechanized tillage machines, and other production technology will be supplied by the Poles to Soviet collective farms. Soviet specialists will

introduce complex technology for the so-called monospermous sugar beet and corn cultivation into Polish agriculture. The Institute of Plant Cultivation and Acclimatization administers the supervision of the application of Polish technology in the USSR, in particular overseeing choice of subspecies, agrotechnics, and protection against weeds and pests. Due to the positive results gained from such enterprises this technology will be applied to larger areas and new regions in Poland and the USSR this year.

13073/9190  
CSO: 2600/467

POLITICS

BULGARIA

**U.S. 'GLOBAL SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES' DESCRIBED**

AU241919 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jun 86, p 6

[Georgi Konstantinov article: "Throughout the World, Like in the 'Wild West'"]

[Text] One of the special organs in the United States is the so-called "Committee 208." The name does not mean that it is the 208th in order, but that it holds its meetings in the room with this number, which is located in an old building near the White House. The committee in question also has an official title, "Special Interdepartmental..." and so on. Highly-placed representatives of the President's adviser on national security, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA serve on this committee.

What is the committee's purpose? It is to coordinate global subversive activities, that is, what types of weapons the United States is to send here and there throughout the world, how they are to be used, the method of delivery, schedules for every operation, and so on.

"Committee 208"--by means of this committee and others like it along the Potomac they want to achieve what was planned, but could not realize during the fifties, by the notorious John Foster Dulles: "Communism must be repelled on a world scale."

In the White House the conclusion was reached that the "Vietnam syndrome" has already been overcome, that America is once again "in the saddle" and can charge at full gallop anywhere in the world. And, of course, toss its lasso anywhere and around anyone it wants.

And look at the results: At present the United States is fomenting six regional conflicts. In addition, nine programs are in progress to destabilize the internal situation in states with regimes which the United States finds "objectionable."

Where there is a "requirement," these programs even provide for direct intervention, as occurred in the case of the barbaric bombing raids on Libya. To give a general picture, at present the United States is conducting, through the CIA and other channels, big "secret operations" in about 70 sovereign states.

Here you have the web of lies about "the hand of Moscow." Here you also have the profound truth about the long arm of the CIA.

On the other side of the ocean they also have a version of "transforming" regional conflicts. This was set in play when the point was reached that regimes imposed by Washington could no longer be forced on the relevant peoples. This is what happened with "Baby Doc"--Haiti's bloody dictator Duvalier. This is what also happened in the Philippines. The "Pinochet problem" is also a painful one. Therefore, his supporters in the White House are struggling with him to make the best of a bad job. "Criticisms" were made in official places in connection with the violation of human rights in Chile. Evidently the U.S. Administration wants to distance itself from the bloody regime of the usurping generals in order to save its trump cards. That is, of course, if it can manage it, because events often do not conform to the wishes of imperialism.

With these tactical moves the United States is also seeking to achieve something else. There they have claimed the copyright for some sort of quiet new policy of "democratic revolution," and take the credit for the collapse recently of a number of dictatorial regimes.

Official Washington's bluff extends even further. In the present nuclear age the White House and other lower bodies cannot deny the need for fresh thinking. But what kind of thinking do they want? Combined with muscle!... Diplomacy, they say, should always be based on force. And this coated in a rich "sauce" of anticomunism. What could certain people across the ocean do without it?

And here is the third bluff, namely that it is precisely the regional crises that are the cause of the present grave international situation, and that these have an East-West orientation, and not, as is really the case, a West-South one, that is, the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation. Washington's aim is quite transparent--to divert attention from the most important issues of the present time: The prevention of nuclear war, the promotion of detente, and of outer space free of nuclear weapons.

So the picture is this: There is agreement in the United States that there must be fresh thinking, but of a kind with...a hawklike content. In such a case it must also have a new name. And one is at hand--neoglobalism! The very "new thinkers" in the United States are crusaders of this cause. It is an age-old truth that the new requires that the old be completely forgotten.

It is very bad when a number of Western politicians are blind not so much as regards their sight as regards their souls. Because at the present time security is indivisible. It is inadmissible for one state to build its security at the expense of another. And this becomes even more inadmissible when no one is threatening that state. The modern version of the "pax Americana" must not and will not stand, either on a regional or global scale.

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MEETS WITH DIPLOMATS IN LOVECH

Festivities Described

AU271240 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] In Lovech a traditional meeting has begun between State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria. The foreign guests have come to Lovech Okrug in order to acquaint themselves at first hand with this region of socialist Bulgaria, its rich history, revolutionary traditions, and its modern socioeconomic and cultural development.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was welcomed most cordially by Lazar Donchev, first secretary of the Lovech Okrug BCP Committee, and Georgi Sharkov, chairman of the Lovech Okrug People's Council Executive Committee. Our first party and state leader is accompanied by comrades Georgi Atansov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Dimitur Stanishev.

The leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria and their wives were presented to Comrade Todor Zhivkov. In the center of the festively decorated square in Lovech, a guard of honor from the Bulgarian People's Army presented a military salute to the chairman of the State Council. Thousands of the town's inhabitants heartily applauded Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the officials and diplomats accompanying him, and in accordance with the Bulgarian custom young girls in national costume presented flowers to the guests. Bulgarian choirs sang songs in the square.

At a meeting in the House of Youth, Lazar Donchev, first secretary of the Okrug BCP Committee, briefed the visitors on the dynamic socioeconomic development of Lovech and the Okrug.

The meeting of State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov with the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria is continuing in Lovech in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendliness. In the afternoon, the guests are expected to visit certain industrial installations and to tour cultural and historical sights in the Okrug.

More on Visit

AU271929 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] The traditional meeting between State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria began today in Lovech Okrug. Taha al-Khayrat, doyen of the diplomatic corps and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Syria to Bulgaria, presented to the chairman of the State Council the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria and their wives.

Lazar Donchev, first secretary of the Okrug BCP Committee, briefed the visitors on the dynamic socioeconomic development of Lovech and the Okrug. He stressed that industry was developing most quickly and at stable rates. The main direction is engineering, which is producing a considerable part of the numerically controlled machine tools, basic assemblies, and composite units for electrical and [word indistinct] production, the total quantity of small hand electrical tools, and two-thirds of the electric motors, which are well accepted in the international market.

At the meeting, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed the vital national importance of the industry of Lovech. He pointed out that many of the factories and works will be reconstructed and modernized. Dwelling on the Okrug's prospects in agriculture, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated that in the Lovech region traditions and conditions exist for a radical change in agricultural production. He particularly noted the successes of the high productivity in animal breeding and the still greater opportunities for development (?in the future).

State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov, the officials accompanying him, and the diplomats then visited the "Elprom" works, one of the leading enterprises of the economy of Lovech, the only producer in the country of electrical hand tools. The electrical tools of the "Elprom" works are exported to more than 15 countries.

In the afternoon the diplomats and their wives visited the (?Zarosha) architectural and historical reserve, where over 200 historical, cultural, and architectural memorial buildings have been preserved and restored.

In the reception rooms of the new restaurant of the Lovech Hotel, Comrade State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov gave an official dinner in honor of the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria and their wives.

Visit Ends

AU281910 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Lovech, June 28 (BTA)--State Council President Todor Zhivkov's meeting with the heads of the foreign diplomatic missions to Bulgaria ended today.

The foreign guests were accompanied on their trip by Mr Todor Zhivkov, Mr Georgi Atanasov, Mr Petur Mladenov and by other Bulgarian officials. They visited the Institute of High-Mountain Cattle Breeding and Agriculture in the town of Troyan. The institute is specialized in developing systems and technologies for acclimatizing and selection of animals and plants for the country's mountainous regions (which make up 45 percent of Bulgaria's territory).

The diplomats were also shown the produce of the Mashstroy machine-tools combine (NC lathes, technological modules and lines, high accuracy universal lathes). They were shown a flexible manufacturing system for prismatic components.

Mr Todor Zhivkov called the guests' attention to the fact that the level of technology in Bulgaria has created excellent prospects for the wide-scale production of flexible manufacturing systems and that this would be the main task set for the Bulgarian specialists and workers.

After that Mr Zhivkov, the Bulgarian officials and foreign guests visited the Monastery of Troyan where they were welcomed by the Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 28 June 1986, in reporting the same visit, adds the following information: "Today Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the officials accompanying him--Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Ukanov, Georgi Yordanov; Lazar Donchev, first secretary of Lovech Okrug BCP Committee; and the diplomats-- were cordially welcomed by the inhabitants of Troyan." "The leadership of Lovech Okrug gave a dinner in honor of the eminent visitors."]

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CSO: 2200/142

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MEETS WITH NEW MEXICAN, BURUNDIAN AMBASSADORS

Receives Accreditation Letters

AU281307 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jun 86 pp 1, 6

[Excerpts] Yesterday State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov received in succession Jaime Fernandez McGregor, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States to Bulgaria, and Prose Bigirimana, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Burundi, who presented their letters of accreditation to him.

Mexico values highly Bulgaria's peace-loving policy, stressed the Mexican ambassador, and in this connection he expressed gratitude for the priceless support which our country is giving to the mediation efforts of the Contadora Group in Central America.

The ties between Bulgaria and Mexico have traditionally been marked by cordiality, sincere friendship, mutual trust, and respect, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated in his reply. We also see opportunities in the future to develop and expand the mutually beneficial cooperation and find new fields of common interest and more effective forms of joint activity in accordance with the aspirations of our countries and peoples.

The Bulgarian state leader emphasized that Bulgaria gives a high assessment to Mexico's consistent peace-loving foreign policy. He specially stressed the role of this friendly country in the Contadora Group for the peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America and the participation of President Miguel de la Madrid in the six-country initiative for halting nuclear tests and preventing the risk of a nuclear catastrophe.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov outlined the peace-loving foreign policy which Bulgaria is following in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world. He noted that as a socialist state and member of the Warsaw Pact our country is a supporter or coauthor of a large number of large-scale peace initiatives aimed at halting the arms race, disarmament, and building a stable and all-embracing system of international security.

The new ambassador of Burundi emphasized in his greeting to State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov that the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress are a pledge of Bulgaria's determination to cooperate with the peace-loving and freedom-loving countries of the world for a better future.

In his reply to the greetings, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: "We are attentively following the efforts of Burundi's industrious people to overcome the grave colonial legacy, and we take joy in the successes achieved along the path of social progress for building a society free of the exploitation of man by man."

The State Council chairman emphasized that Bulgaria values Burundi's foreign policy, which is based on the principles of good-neighboringliness and positive nonalignment, against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism, for halting the arms race, and for strengthening peace in the world. Bulgaria also values the support which Burundi is giving to the concrete and realistic Soviet proposals.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that there exists a wide field for developing the bilateral cooperation, which is now at its beginning. He gave assurance that Bulgaria is ready to seek suitable ways and forms to develop the friendly ties with Burundi, which are in the interest of both peoples and accord with their aspiration to live in peace and understanding.

Petur Mladenov, minister of Foreign Affairs, and Nikola Manolov, secretary of the State Council, were present at the accreditation ceremony.

#### Receives Mexican Ambassador

AU251845 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)--The relations between Bulgaria and Mexico are cordial and friendly. They are built on the basis of mutual trust and respect, pointed out Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, receiving the credentials of Mr Jaime Fernandez-McGregor, newly appointed ambassador of Mexico to Bulgaria.

We see opportunities for further development and widening of the mutually advantageous cooperation in the future, for finding of new spheres of mutual interest and for more efficient forms of joint activity, stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Assessing highly the peaceful foreign policy of Mexico, he paid special attention to the role of that country in the efforts of the Contadora Group for peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America and stressed the participation of President Miguel de la Madrid in the six countries' initiative on termination of nuclear tests and aversion of nuclear war danger.

Mexico's ambassador also emphasized the desire of his country for widening of the friendly relations with Bulgaria. He pointed out that the already existing bilateral agreements will contribute to this end.

Receives Burundi Ambassador

AU251923 Sofia BTA in English 1659 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received today the newly elected ambassador of Burundi, Mr Prose Bigirimana, who handed the president his credentials. The two sides expressed their countries' willingness to develop the bilateral cooperation.

Mr Todor Zhivkov noted that Bulgaria assesses highly Burundi's foreign policy and its firm stand on the matters of war and peace, manifested through its support for Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's peace proposals.

Burundi's ambassador expressed his country's concern over the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, and over the disgraceful system of apartheid, maintained by the regime of the Republic of South Africa. "It is time," he said, "for Namibia to receive independence without preconditions. The system of apartheid must be eliminated and all aggressions against the independent front-line states must be terminated."

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CSO: 2200/142

POLITICS

BULGARIA

START OF GERMAN-SOVIET WAR COMMEMORATED IN SOFIA

AU250935 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Jun 86 p 1

["Deep Homage to Great Self-Sacrifice"]

[Excerpt] "That June night was a terrible one..." This was how Ilya Erenberg described the most sinister night in the life of the Soviet state--22 June 1941.

Since that day 45 years have passed!

Like the irremovable scar from a wound, this day will be impressed even more deeply on the memory of future generations. Let us bow our heads before this day--and the first day of the immortal trial of the Soviet people--The Great Patriotic War.

Let us be thankful for this self-sacrifice, because the Soviet Union did not only save itself. Let the heroism of the Soviet man inspire us in our future days.

Offering flowers, masses of flowers, we Bulgarian people bow our heads and give thanks.

Wreaths to express gratitude were laid at the Soviet Army Memorial in the capital, in front of the memorial bust of Marshal Tolbukhin, and at the Memorial Ossuary for fallen Soviet soldiers in the "Loszenets" district.

The solemn ceremony was attended by hundreds of citizens. A guard of honor of the Bulgarian People's Army presented a military salute. Present at the ceremony were deputy ministers of national defense, generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army, and representatives of public and political organizations. Leonid Grekov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, and officials from the Soviet Embassy paid their respects at the memorial. Also among those present was Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army.

As a mark of sacred homage to the trials of the Soviet people, wreaths were laid in the name of the BCP Central Committee, the Fatherland Front National Council, the all-National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, the Ministry of National Defense, the Sofia City BCP Committee, the Sofia City People's Council, and all the rayons of Sofia. A wreath was also laid on behalf of the Soviet Embassy.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

CROP IRRIGATION SHORTCOMINGS IN VRATSA OKRUG CRITICIZED

AU251328 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jun 86 p 2

[Undated report of "Joint Check of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Committee, the Committee for State and People's Control, and RABOTNICHESKO DELO," carried out by a group comprising Georgi Dimitrov, instructor of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Committee; Yoto Ivanov, senior inspector of the Committee for State and People's Control; and RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent Dragomir Dakov, and entitled "The Land Cannot Lie"-- passage within slantlines in bold type]

[Excerpts] Zlatiya is a fair and fertile land. It provides a golden harvest to the farmers of Vratsa Okrug--grain, sugar beet, broadleafed tobaccos, but are the farmers generous toward it? It is well known that the rainfall here is more than scanty (almost 250 liters per square meter less than the average for the Okrug), and the irrigation systems divert the waters of the Danube in many directions, but all--around Zlatiya. However, what is more important, /the waters are not being used economically, even when they are fed into irrigation systems. Here is just one fact: Of the total area of 114,000 decares of fields to be irrigated by water from the Danube, up to 5 June only a little over 5,000 decares had been watered. Our conversation with the Okrug BCP committee in Vratsa started by asking for the reasons./

/It is impossible to irrigate crops by gravity due to the collapsed channels and area," explained Vuto Khristov, the Okrug Party Committee secretary, going straight to the problems. "Due to the fault of the construction organizations at the 'Kozloduy' nuclear generating plant the pipelines for field spraying have been cut. And despite the fact that a project has been drawn up to eliminate the trouble, there is as yet no change."

And, we will add, no one has been punished either. Crop watering did not start last autumn, and we know how dry that was. Accordingly, whatever objective reasons are put forward now for the unwatered autumn crops, there is one main reason, a subjective one, which is a lack of coordination in the Okrug regarding irrigation, with people waiting instead for rain. How can it be otherwise when only 1,300 of the 30,000 decares of autumn crops sown in the fields irrigated from the Danube have received water, and that

after 25 May?! They have not even started watering the spring-sown crops, except for tobacco, vegetables, and alfalfa. The internal network of channels was in bad condition./

/It is true that organizational and economic questions are a subject of almost daily discussion in the Okrug Party Committee. Weaknesses are not being covered up, measures are being taken, control is being implemented./ This is proved by the schedules, memoranda, and minutes of the sessions of the Okrug Party Committee Bureau. At a meeting on 27 May the committee heard explanations from the leaders of the agro-industrial complex and the construction organizations concerning the slow rate of repair work on the irrigation and land improvement equipment stock and on preparing it for the irrigation season. Iliya Markov, chairman of the Kozloduy agro-industrial complex, and Blagoy Stoyanov, chairman of the Municipal People's Council, received reprimands. However, has any change ensued following the just criticism, or has this remained a "strict" document only on paper?

/This, however, is only one trouble. Another is that the machinery operators working with the pumping equipment are mainly pensioners, and their labor productivity is low. Shift work is quite out of the question. It is evident that the question of training qualified cadres must be seriously taken up./

Maybe /it is time for the concern of the Okrug Party Committee to be passed on down the line to the primary party organizations. Many leaders spoke well and convincingly on this subject./ For example, to the municipal party committee in Kozloduy: it has not been practicing exigence toward the leaders of the agro-industrial complex and the brigades; no concrete tasks have been set for the primary party organizations. How otherwise can we explain the fact that the agro-industrial complex has an area of 68,000 decares to be irrigated by the Danube waters, but has only concluded a contract for the irrigation of 14,000 decares?

/As for the obligations of the competent state organs, we will emphasize that it is impossible to justify the delay in the delivery of 13 metric tons of flexible polythene piping and of the planned spraying equipment./

Because the land will not wait.

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CSO: 2200/142

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

**TODOROV RECEIVES SWISS PARLIAMENTARIANS--**Sofia, June 27 (BTA)--Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received today a Swiss parliamentary delegation headed by Mr Dario Rubiani, MP. He briefed the MP's of the Swiss Federal Assembly on Bulgaria's achievements in her socio-economic development. Mr Stanko Todorov noted the need to further develop the parliamentary relations between Bulgaria and Switzerland which would assist the development of the cooperation in other fields as well. The participants in the talks discussed a number of important international issues and noted the significance of the Soviet peace initiatives which aim at halting the arms race. The development of the cooperation between the world's parliaments would contribute to the search for ways to control the armaments and to the establishment of a climate of trust and cooperation in the world. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 27 Jun 86 AU] /12858

**ZHIVKOV AT INTERIOR MINISTRY MEETING--**A national conference was held in Sofia with the leading staff of the Ministry of the Interior, devoted to the tasks of the ministry stemming from the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress. The conference was attended by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Comrade Dimitru Stoyanov, minister of the interior, read a report. The conference adopted measures for further perfecting the work of the ministry. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 86 AU] /12858

**STANISHEV VISITS SOVIET UNION--**At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union. He was received by Anatoliy Dobrynin and by Vadim Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere they exchanged opinions on topical international issues and on practical questions pertaining to the intensification and development of cooperation between the two parties. The talks were attended by Dimitur Zhulev, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /12858

**DOYNOV IN STOCKHOLM--**Stockholm, June 25 (BTA)--A Mr Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and chairman of the Economic Council, who is on a business visit to Sweden, had a meeting with Mr Sten Andersson, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden. They exchanged views on the international situation and on the bilateral relations. Mr Ognyan Doynov had a business meeting with Mr Thage Peterson, minister of industry. They discussed the condition and products for development of the industrial and trade cooperation between Bulgaria and Sweden. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /12858

ALBANIAN LITERARY HERO'S BIRTH MARKED--Sofia, June 26 (BTA)--The 140th anniversary of the birth of Naim Frasheri, founder of the new Albanian literature, ideologist and organizer of the National Revolutionary Movement, was marked with a scientific session at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Historians, literary critics, linguists and translators considered his versatile work, dwelled on his services to the movement for national and cultural independence of Albania. In his opening speech Academician Nikolay Todorov, director of the Institute on Balkanistic Studies and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, stressed that the great poet and publicist has championed the drawing closer together of the Balkan peoples. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1147 GMT 26 Jun 86 AU] /12858

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES GHANAIAN ENVOY--Sofia, June 25 (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received Mr John Tettegah, ambassador-at-large of Ghana, who handed him a message from Ghana's head of state Captain Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1529 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /12858

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DEPARTING AMBASSADORS--Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, consecutively received the following ambassadors on the occasion of their forthcoming, final departure from our country: Ibrahim Marrouche, ambassador of Lebanon; Johan Faber, ambassador of the Netherlands, and Jean Marie de Breton, ambassador of France, as well as Geremew Debel, ambassador of Ethiopia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /12858

ATANASOV RECEIVES NEW, DEPARTING ENVOYS--Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received (Abdelhamid Dimani), newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Morocco in our country. On the occasion of their forthcoming departures, Comrade Georgi Atanasov received the following ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary: Geremew Debel, ambassador of Ethiopia; John Michael Owen Snodgrass, ambassador of the United Kingdom; Ibrahim Marrouche, ambassador of Lebanon; and Legdengyin Damdinjav, ambassador of Mongolia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 25 Jun 86 AU] /12858

ATANASOV RECEIVES AMBASSADORS--Yesterday Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Talib al-Naqib, [spelling of name as published] ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Kuwait to Bulgaria. First Deputy Foreign Minister Mariy Ivanov was present at the talk. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, successively received yesterday Netherlands Ambassador Johan G.W. Faber and French Ambassador Jean-Marie Le Breton in connection with their forthcoming final departure from Bulgaria. Deputy Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev was present at the meetings. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 4 AU] /12858

**CONDOLENCES ON POLISH DEATHS**--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of condolences to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and to Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner. The telegram expresses most sincere condolences to the families and relatives of the Polish citizens and workers who died as a result of the working accident at the "Georgi Damyanov" copper-mining combine in the town of Srednogorie. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jun 86 pp 1, 4 AU] /12858

**ZHIVKOV GREETINGS TO MADAGASCAR**--State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, on the occasion of the country's National Day, in which he sends most cordial greetings and good wishes for the prosperity of the friendly Malagasy people. Sincere joy is voiced in connection with the notable successes in the progressive socioeconomic reforms completed during the years of free life. A high assessment is given to the consistent policy of Madagascar for strengthening national independence and independent development, for the anti-imperialist unity of the African countries in the struggle to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and against neocolonialism and racism in Africa. The telegram voices confidence that the relations between our countries in different fields will continue to develop for the good of the Bulgarian and Malagasy peoples and in the interest of preserving world peace, security, and cooperation between the peoples of the world. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jun 86 p 1 AU] /12858

**HEALTH TALKS WITH GREECE**--Sofia, June 28 (BTA)--"The aim of our visit was to learn more about the medical academy and about the possibilities to improve our relations in the field of health care," said Mr Ioannis Floros, second minister of Health, Social Services and Social Reporter. "We outlined the fields in which our cooperation would be to mutual benefit. We will start with an exchange of research studies in the field of pharmacology. We also expect further development of the cooperated production of medical devices and the establishment of a joint economic society." The delegation headed by the Greek second minister had meetings with a Bulgarian delegation of the Ministry of Public Health headed by Minister Radoy Popivanov. Academician Atanas Maleev, president of the Medical Academy, and Mr J. Floros signed memoranda on the talks. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 28 June 86 AU] /12858

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

**POLITICAL, CULTURAL, NATIONAL IDENTITY DYSFUNCTIONS PROBED**

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 4, 1986 pp 1-14

[Article by Ferenc Glatz, Deputy Director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Editor-in-Chief of the periodical HISTORIA: "The Relationship of People to Their Work, Politics, and Their Nation"]

[Text] It is an old truth of history that a society and also a small community begins to talk about certain issues when it feels an inner pressure to put them into words. It is a subject studied by undergraduates at departments for history that it is at such times that states introduce legislation, smaller communities adopt resolutions and family groups make decisions. And it is an indication also of the direction of the forces of pressure in an age how such issues are approached: identity--national identity; national feeling and society. The latter of the two has been a recurring subject of fiction, film and scholarly literature since the Sixties. What is more the Party too has taken a stand on those matters several times, that is the political leadership has deemed it necessary to talk about those things. The other issue is more complex: identity--national identity. Why has this pair of concepts become so closely associated in usage? Let me try and advance an answer to this second question. In my view primarily because near the end of the 20th century the systems of government and state have--not yet or no longer been able to operate adequately in either part of the world ensuring the existence in harmony of individual aspirations and of collective interests, the reproduction of man as a biological unit and the averting from him the threats to his survival as a species. So the sense of identity is being eroded with the social and political system which is designed to organize not only the political order of society, but also its customs connected with production and day-to-day life. It is the outcome of this erosion that individuals try to link their aspirations of day-to-day existence to communal ideas that are outside, or above, the system of institutions just then running the affairs of society. Such a system is the nation. It follows from this I think that in the sociological literature of the end of the 20th century it is not clearly revealed that as regards the future identity is not the same as national identity. National identity is only one of the senses of identity that keep taking shape in the relationship between the individual and the community.

These days--when there is an increasing emphasis on the protection of man as a biological unit and it is becoming increasingly obvious that the organization of the national state as developed in the last century is incapable of resolving

that problem--we have to realize that the present organizational frameworks of our societies, the national states, are ephemeral indeed in historical terms.

We shall have to pay ever greater attention to the factors that shape communities which motivate societies outside the spheres of the states and which show a validity more permanent than the so-called state and national institutions. Modern historians have to pay an ever greater attention to the fact that ethnic communities have been primarily productive communities rather than linguistic and religious communities. For the characteristics growing out of the productive work, division of labour and daily routine, of communities. And those communal characteristics assuming increasingly marked ideological forms from the medieval state formations to this day are in fact nothing but the sum-total of man as a producer, of the individual assuring his self-preservation biologically and so also intellectually. In other words social life is not ultimately governed by the principles of ethnic and national consciousness rather by adaptation evolved in the course of working and living together within a working organization on social or group levels (community, village and even family). Another way of putting the matter would be this: in modern society the national sense of community is present most spectacularly as a sense of cohesion emphasized by the ruling strata of the nation state communities and by their press, art and literature. (Just as in certain societies the presence is very spectacular of the religious sense of cohesion (not discussed in this paper) which is far older than the national sense of community.)

Secondly there is the sense of identity with a given political system which the political forces in power endeavour to strengthen as much as they can.

Thirdly there are the links of the sense of social identity affecting production and the material conditions of self-preservation which link individuals to each other through the order of day-to-day work and the habits based upon it.

#### 1. Observations: Social and political identity 1946 to 1956

Naturally, it has to be pointed out in advance that the various forms of the sense of identity exist closely interconnected in modern societies and so when I shall discuss first the period from 1945 to 1956 and then from 1956 to 1980 in Hungary I think the entirety of the interconnection of the various senses of identity and the disruption of their system will have to be made the subject of our study. If within the scope available we want to discuss the more important ones of the changes of identity in our history after the country's liberation --even by just raising the issues--we can do that only hypothetically for neither my particular branch of studies nor my personal investigations have included detailed studies on the above-mentioned particular matters. So the questions I shall raise can rest only on the results produced often separately by the various lines of research of my particular studies--agricultural history, economic history, sociology and ideological history which is primarily concerned with the national question.

(First observation: the sense of identity of the traditional Hungarian middle-class after 1945.) The collapse of the bourgeois Hungarian state between 1946 and 1948 meant among other things the eviction from the positions of power in the state of the social groups connected with the old state administration and

the old economic and cultural elite. This old middle-class whose crisis was described most plastically by Gyula Szekfu found it hard to accept even the fact that thousand year old Hungary linked to Western culture should come within the Soviet zone of occupation. Many of them left for the West fleeing from the liberating troops or at the sight of the collapse of the Hungarian bourgeois system. Then after 1949--and that has no longer been described by Szekfu--this group was driven out of the state administration and from the other key-positions of the economy and culture with administrative measures by a political power impatient and unversed in building a state. This social element, the so-called Hungarian Christian middle class, had had a tradition going back over several generations of considering itself the depository of statehood and national existence. Let me add that this was not different in the case of the middle classes in the state administration of other modern countries. All the practice developed over a century in the organization of the community--be it the running of country, town or village communities or the operation of national institutions--which the Hungarian ruling stratum had developed and passed on through family, office and educational institutions it considered naturally a vital condition of the working of society. That is why it considered itself--and let us add not quite without justification--the national middle class and the depository of the so-called Christian national politics. In 1948, after the dictatorship of the proletariat had come to power, this middle class, even those members of it who had remained in the state and cultural administration in a broad sense of the words, lost their basis of identifying themselves primarily with politics. Since those politics, the new regime, regarded them as a social element the exponents and the 'servants' of the 'clerical and fascist' political system and treated them accordingly. Secondly, their sense of identity with the rising system ceased also as regards production and the division of labour and social positions based upon them since they were deprived of the opportunity to find their places in society as individuals engaged in work and of their economic and cultural privileges they had won earlier and as they thought rightfully. And mainly they were deprived of the prestige they had held traditionally in the community of the nation. Naturally, changes took place in their sense of national identity. Their need for being linked with the whole of the national community (the Hungarian nation) did not diminish but now deprived of the elements of productive and political identification it was intensified to an extreme measure in their thinking, it remained an insistence on proving their whole historic role in upholding their own Hungarianness and the Hungarian nation as a whole. Naturally, all this had to be done secretly since the political conditions of those times did not provide opportunities for the legal expression of those sentiments. For the purpose of our subject future research ought to provide answers to many questions concerning those strata. The questions are the following: the fact that in 1948 and 1949 the new political power came to rule with little experience of leadership practically overnight prevented them--and to what extent?--from realizing how much accumulated experience, and skill, of leadership were necessary for the running, and administration, of productive communities. And to what extent the failure of this method of making politics was due to the belief of the new leaders that the relationships between individuals and the community were primarily relations of politics and power? And concentrating on that notion the new political leadership made fatal mistakes in its treatment of the old expert administration, mistakes that harmed also itself.

(Second observation: the sense of identity of the Jewish middle class after 1945) In recent years our historical literature has again concerned itself with the fate of Jewry in Hungary in the 20th century. It has noted rightly that some of them experienced the shocks that followed liberation in the same way as the whole of Hungarian society. This means that the wealthier members of the middle class engaged again in private enterprise up to the time of the nationalization and then--like the Christian middle class--they escaped into political passivity or emigration or they were deported. Literature has been also right in pointing out that the lower, employee, strata of Jewry tried after the raging of fascism to assimilate to the whole of the community by seeking to achieve leading economic and political positions. They fully identified themselves with the sincere and fine aims of the new left-wing political system i.e. with the proclaimed principle of putting an end to national and social differences and believed that by so doing they had divested themselves of the remnants of their Jewish identity. In other words, that they had escaped the danger of being excluded from the community. We can only ask questions in the hope of those being answered by later research how much is known of the thinking of the people of Jewish origin who followed a road different from this and as petit bourgeois and retail traders of great value to the nation failed to find their opportunities in the division of labour and in society. So they were excluded from the group who wished to free themselves of the danger of excommunication from the body of the nation which they had earlier experienced by means of the political identification as mentioned above. Just as we can only make guesses how much the Jewish strata seeking national identity through politics were disillusioned by the anti-Semitic attempts at the time of the cult of the personality, of which we have little reliable information. And to what extent was this stratum disillusioned by the failure of the full equality awaited with almost Messianic fervour and promised to materialize in the near future? In fact with the aggravation of the economic difficulties from 1951 and 1952 and the collapse of the Stalinist politics (1953 to 1956) it appeared to vanish completely. And so the sense of identity of these social elements with the social system was disrupted. This was true of the society as well in which they had begun to exist again after the end of the war and from which they now, after ten years, they again began to fear to be excluded.

(Third observation: the working class and the peasantry after 1945) The leading role of the toiling classes, in the first place of the working class, was emphasized by the new social order. This meant that the power of state administration was used to put workers in leading positions relying--as it was put--on their common sense and class instincts; and attempts were made to teach them economic and political leadership at courses to substitute the expertise of the specialists of the old system. It is a well-known fact that under this policy children of working class and peasant families were recruited to posts to become the new generation of the middle class. It was not denied that the aim was to promote also in this manner the political identification of the most significant social elements. This matter has also been dealt with by research projects although so far too few in numbers.

Less is known, however, of how the identification of the two fundamental classes of society was shaken with the political system which considered them its foundations. It would be surely senseless to deny that when in October, 1956 the crisis of the system had grown also politically acute a considerable part of

both the working class and the peasantry did not feel a sense of identity with the government and party policy reluctant to carry out reforms and unable to do so.

If one were to seek the cause of this one would certainly arrive at a mistake frequently recurring in the history of political parties in the 19th and 20th centuries, viz. that those parties having come to power conceived the leadership of the community primarily as a leading role of power. They failed to watch the forces which could govern the day-to-day thinking of the various social strata or classes and thus create the identification necessary for leading the community both economically and politically. Particularly the history of Marxist parties which use political ideology emphatically to attain day-to-day political objectives has produced many errors when the shaping of a sense of political identification has been expected to be achieved simply and quickly by administrative measures or by sweeping propaganda campaigns.

The most decisive mistake also from its own point of view was committed by the political leadership after the year of the change when it took harsh action against the most highly organized part of the pre-war working class, against the old unionists. The drive to seek enemies everywhere and persecute people "thinking differently extended after 1950 and 1951 to a fight also against people thinking differently within the movement, so also against the people, formerly social democrats, who represented continuity in the political movement and kept alive the organization of small political communities. This chain of actions, the effects of which have not yet been properly assessed, was combined with the view mentioned earlier on in the part about the middle classes, i.e. with underrating expertise in the operation of the state and the economy. A campaign was launched under the slogan "fight against the labour aristocracy" against all those who advocated expertise and competence in the administration of factory productive communities and in shaping their way of thinking and thereby indirectly the significance of the process of doing jobs properly for maintaining the life of the community. "The world cannot be redeemed, but it can be upheld by diligent work", a factory worker has remarked in his reminiscences of the debates of that age. In a concentrated form this sentence expressed the bitterness of the skilled workers of old in their opposition to the leading cadres loudly advocating revolutionary politics but unversed in trade skills and it expressed also the importance in upholding the community--in view of those skilled men--of ordinary daily work

Our research does not extend to how the decline of the workers' standard of living queues, shortages, sham results and the failure to achieve results promised to be short-term ones undermined their sense of identity in political and economic terms which had been strengthened in the course of post-war reconstruction from 1945 to 1948 when there had been a real struggle against capital, for reconstruction and against a real political reaction, for the socialization of the institutions, etc.

The history of the peasantry is far better known and explored than that of the working class and the old middle class. For that reason based on research done it can be far more clearly shown how subsequent changes in the sense of identity of the Hungarian peasantry took place from 1945 to 1956. The land reform, or

more precisely the distribution of land, had strengthened in the eyes of the peasantry the validity of the thesis put forward primarily by the popular movement which asserted that the peasantry was the fundamental class of the Hungarian nation, the backbone of the country, which not only sustained the people by providing food, but was a reserve, from which there would rise the holders of leading posts of government, politics and culture. It was as they saw it an in-exhaustible source, from which the nation could draw. Although those claims did not take shape as an ideological system in a substantial part of the peasantry--particularly in the small and middle farmers--but there appeared to emerge a perfect harmony between the various levels of identity. They found their place in the order of production by having obtained land and perceived their daily work as the fulfillment of their skills and customs of hundreds of years. All this seemed to be in harmony with identification with the state and its politics **since the new politics had provided the conditions necessary for farm work and independence to do it** and with identification with the nation. But we all know how this harmony was disrupted after 1949. The forced organization of collective farms meant a complete extinction of the peasants' identification with the earlier order of production and customs. The lack of technical equipment did not provide an opportunity for them to identify themselves with the new politics economically and politically through a fuller satisfaction of their daily needs.

All this was compounded by increasing pressure brought to bear upon small holders and farmers of medium sized holdings whose standard of performance had been good which eventually deteriorated into harsh political persecution depriving of all of its economic and political bases the key category "the kulaks" who were the principal butts of persecution. Consequently, a considerable part of the peasantry lost its positions it had earlier believed to have found in both the processes of production and the political arena of the community. And all the propaganda conducted by the political leadership waving the national colours--trying to emphasize the national function of the peasantry in defending the country by films, poems and history books and thereby create a sense of identity with the regime's national "defence" aims--proved to be insufficient as compared with the disruption of identity with the spheres of production and politics.

It is again something to be inquired into by future research to what extent the reorganization after 1948 of the Hungarian economy--a subject already explored **with its causes and distortions** by our economic historians--contributed in itself toward the former agricultural population flocking to the factories losing its sense of identity which had existed over generations with its immediate job environment and daily routine which in turn loosened up its ties of identity with the political community as a whole. It remains a question to be answered to what extent those mental processes were influenced by the distortions and to what extent by the process of modernization both urban and rural? After all even the most positive trends of development have caused problems of identity in history.

## 2. Observations concerning the disturbances caused by national and state conflicts from 1945 to 1956.

We have made observations and asked questions concerning the changes--growing stronger or weaker--of the sense of identity of the fundamental social strata with all that happened in this country from 1945 to 1956. Similarly we have to make observations and ask questions concerning the national and state conflicts affecting all social classes which were not resolved in the period between 1945 and 1956 either, conflicts which were experienced depending on their everyday social existence in a different way by these social classes and which were yet equally present in their thoughts on nation and society. One way of putting the question could be this: which were the factors that determined the relations between the national and ethnic communities in the Carpathian Basin as well as their traditions as crystallized in their inner order of work and customs and the position of their community of nations.

**Conflicts caused by the peace system of Trianon and Paris** First we have to mention the crises that were introduced into the lives of those societies by the two peace treaties. Today, at least for some years now, our history writing has spoken about the traumatic effect upon the Hungarian middle class of the Peace Treaty of Trianon. We now speak about the fact that the collapse of the state organization of historic Hungary called into question their role of the social backbone of the country and the nation and the shrinking of the country's area to one-third caused the disappearance of a considerable part of the offices and institutions which had given cohesion and operated that state. Their posts held in the fields of government, railways, postal services, health, education, press, etc. in the areas annexed to other countries were abolished and through that there ceased their living and *raison d'être*. However, we know far less and we hardly talk at all of the impact of the peace treaties upon the Hungarian peasants and workers, their impact on the peasantry and working class as working strata and social forces rather than on their political parties. The reason of this reticence may be that we have so far not dared to call into question the thesis which claims that in a bourgeois society the toiling classes are not interested in the wealth of the country, in the factories or on the lands of which they work. We perhaps still think that the working class and the peasantry can only have fictitious ideas of such interests. Just as it has never been clarified by our history writing nor by the history writing of the neighbouring countries whether the disruption of the centuries old production, commercial and labour markets which had developed in the Hapsburg Monarchy in general and on the area of historic Hungary in particular was a real gain in terms of their economies and production structures to the successor countries which had developed in effect along the borders of this economic unit. Today not even the most desperate people contemplate irredentism in their senses or think attaching and detaching territories can resolve real problems of ethnic minorities. All these issues ought to be subjects of thorough historical research. But our history writing and that of the neighbouring countries have not thrown proper light on the confusion caused by the rearrangement of the map of East-Central Europe in the communities of everyday production, division of labour and customs. To this day we are ignorant of the wide-spread animosities and emotions awakened among a large part of the working class against the annexation of territories by the unemployment it generated and that was true even of the most class-conscious of workers. But even if those emotions are at all alluded to by our history writing, there is nothing on record of the misery experienced after the revisions of the treaties in 1938 by the Rumanian or other ethnic groups fleeing across the new borders with all the belongings they could carry

from the territories returned. And just as the attaching and detaching of territories caused nothing but confusion in the successor states, the partial re-annexations did not produce economic prosperity either; not between 1938 and 1941 and not after 1945. And what did the history writing of the neighbouring countries write so far about those issues: to what extent could the successor states integrate the areas awarded to them--considering also the small local social and political communities--into the community of production whose creation is the aim of modern states?

The political systems after 1945 have failed to manage those tensions as national tensions. The facts are known if little emphasized of the failure of the concepts in the communist parties and left-wing bourgeois parties which wished to uphold, and preserve for the new socialist systems, the most precious heritage of the region, the mixing of production, markets and ethnic groups, by gradually removing the frontiers. It is also known how all this was suppressed by the Stalinist line which declared the strengthening of independent statehood as the sole road of the development of socialist communities. Hungary was condemned both on the basis of her history and on the basis of her national conflicts at the time. Our whole history was presented as a long period of the oppression of the nations which won their independent statehood after 1920 and after 1945 and Hungary and her people as the obstruction in the way of the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Slav, Rumanian, etc. peoples which had existed ever since ancient times. Which stratum could accept this entirely false and vulgar concept either historically--i.e. regarding the past or politically--i.e. seen from the then present time? That question can be given only by a thorough-going analysis of the social history of the conflict that erupted later between 1954 and 1956. What appears to be certain is that those conflicts of identification deeply suppressed could not be resolved either on the level of the various social strata or on the level of the whole of the national community. What is more to those who were affected personally in their family, social or employment relations by the dismemberment of the country and that applied to more than one-third of the country the new political system appeared definitely to obstruct the expression of their social and communal attachments, of their real problems.

**New conflicts of small-nation nationalism** Our history writing has studied the so-called small-nation defensive nationalism in modern Hungarian history which is a sense in small communities of being threatened by a large community. In Hungarian political thinking this took the form of both anti-German and anti-Slav attitudes. Political propaganda after the country's liberation regarded rightly as its primary objective to stamp out anti-Soviet prejudices from the thinking of Hungarian society and to try at the same time to present of the Soviet Union a most attractive picture to the Hungarian public which was in fact quite ignorant as regards the Soviet Union. At the same time it tried to get accepted our attachment to the new socialist community led by the Soviet Union, or a consciousness of it, by constantly emphasizing the Western, i.e. Habsburg, threat to our independence throughout our history. It is as yet completely unknown what confusion was caused in public thinking by this propaganda cliché as the man in the street compared in his own mind this propaganda with reality as he experienced it. The reservations of the old middle class concerning the Soviet Union were increased by the political leadership talking at every step

of the great Soviet model rather than arguing that the political and economic changes to be introduced were expedient in themselves. But the policy designed to replace the old small-nation nationalism by a positive identification of contrary direction failed to produce impressive results in the working classes either. When all is said and done the individual members of society decide whether a claim is right or wrong on the basis of their day-to-day experiences. They shape or change their views motivated by them. The fact that each new measure or political activity was introduced with reference to Soviet experiences made people blame the Soviet system for the failure of those measures. At the same time the fact that the Soviet industry and the Soviet economy in general was unable to produce consumer's goods of the expected standard made impossible the success of the propaganda calling for full identification with the Soviet Union and consequently with the new socialist community. Nor must the historian forget that in past centuries the "West" had always appeared to the Hungarian working class, peasantry and middle class as a productive community to be caught up with, one that I have in mind primarily Germany was able to produce tools, processes of everyday production and consumer's goods, we were unable to produce. In the face of this conviction deeply impressed on the minds of generations of common people the propaganda proved to be weak in its efforts to break up the identification with the western community on an everyday certainly not political level by means of generating political antagonism and counter-ideologies relying on a vast but thin apparatus. And how complex a concept identity is and how strong production, economic and political identification can be even against attempts at generating national identification are proved by the way propaganda elements of our anti-Western German traditions changed in 1956. It was then found that the anti-German traditions of independence evoked against foreign intruders in previous years were turned on the level of workaday consciousness--a level on which the logical shackles of textbooks and pamphlets can break in a matter of minutes--against another big power, the socialist Soviet Union, in the minds of some strata of society.

**Assimilation "free of conflicts"** After new conflicts affecting the traditions of the dismemberment of the country and those of defensive small-nation nationalism one has to discuss assimilation, in our view the third traditional tension in the Hungarian society.

The modern Hungarian nation has developed from various ethnic groups. I do not think it necessary to quote all the relevant figures. Here are only a few of the many: even in 1880, the time when assimilation was gathering momentum, 74 percent of the population of Budapest spoke German and a considerable number of those did not speak Hungarian. In 1900 only 6.3 percent did not speak Hungarian and 39 percent spoke only Hungarian. If there is an area in which it can be proved to what extent the movements, and mixture, of the various ethnic groups are motivated by factors of production and division of labour, it is this area. This is true despite the fact that some ethnic groups had been expelled from their original homeland for ethnic or religious reason like the Protestants and Jews from countries east of Hungary, the migration did take place because the territory, and economic structure, of Hungary offered those people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds jobs and opportunities for integration. In the 18th century the German elements appeared on the areas reduced to deserts after the Turkish occupation as farmer settlers and from

the middle of the 19th century onwards the needs of growing bourgeois life provided a labour market for large numbers of German, Czech and Moravian craftsmen -- lathe-workers, metal workers or brick-layers. Just as the Jewish immigrants found opportunities of work as dealers in agricultural produce, financiers, shopkeepers or makers of fancy-goods and glaziers in the expanding capitalist market. The jobs created by the demands of production united those different ethnic groups into what became the Hungarian national community by the 19th and 20th centuries.

This process of assimilation was brought to an end by World War Two which even severed the threads which had become more and more closely interwoven. The part of the German ethnic group who had not yet become assimilated professed themselves to be belonging to the German community of peoples, although the majority of them had already come to the realization that identification with working communities, customs, families and small communities as well as the new customs was more important for them than the identity of language promised them by the German Empire. I do not think it is necessary for me to speak about the explosion of Jewry and of the trauma this caused in the sense of identity of the Jews.

What happened after the country's liberation? The trauma was aggravated by the deportations. Only many studies could clarify the extent to which in the whole area the processes of assimilation were impeded by the methods which prevented those ethnic groups from functioning as national or ethnic cultural communities. The truly fine and noble principle adhered to by the leadership after 1949 which refused to call anybody Jewish, Swabian, Serbian or Gipsy the last mentioned group was to be called "new Hungarian" could achieve the desired end only partly. The reason was primarily that no democratic forums and opportunities were provided for the resolution, and coming to a head, of the conflicts that had arisen some years earlier, no outlet for the passions and emotions fostering under the surface--this too ought to be the subject of our research into recent history. Earlier on I have said that no harmonious identity took shape because due to the one-sided enforcement of the principles of the nation state and to political mistakes political identification was disturbed which was not helped even by the strong emphasis laid on the traditions of national independence. Now one has to see also another disruption within the system of identification: the Jewish, German and other ethnic groups could become integrated into the organization of production, but they could not gratify their adherence to their language and cultural traditions.

This extremely brief review intended to be really just a memento may have convinced the readers of the fact that in a modern state there exist various levels of identification and its different currents which exist simultaneously either strengthening or weakening one another. When the apparently most spectacular of them, national or political identity, is disrupted, it is a sign unusually of a disruption of the entire system of identification. This was underlined also by the political crisis in Hungary which erupted in 1956. At that time it was not only the ties of political identity that were broken in various strata of Hungarian society but also the threads linking people to production and economic communities were loosened or severed. And since in those years the inner tensions going back centuries of national identity had not been resolved, what

is more some of them had been aggravated, all those disturbances of identity appeared in national guises.

The historian can put the next question on behalf of political leaderships of all times--did those various disturbances of identity in the fields of production and the economy appear as disturbances of national identity simply because the political system had failed to provide opportunities for them to appear in their real form as polemics of production, employment and economy, i.e. as problems of the real identification of the individual with the community? and similarly the disturbances of the adherence to the political system to be expressed on the level of political administration and institutions? And since no such opportunities were provided all those problems erupted as the national problems of nation communities.

### 3. Questions of the present concerning the disturbances of national-social identity

As I have pointed out earlier on the scope of this writing permits only asking questions because the detailed analyses of social history are still lacking. That is all we can do as regards the years of renewal and recovery after the crisis of 1956. How could one arrange in logical groups the questions concerning the years of recovery?

**My first question: the possible settlement of minority conflicts** What had been among the centuries old tensions affecting national identity could not be resolved in the years of the period between 1949 and 1956 and not even the policies of the past decades could fully resolve them.

In recent years the co-existence of the various ethnic groups in the country and helping the natural processes of assimilation and the opposite process have been raised to the level of government policy. There is an ever wider scope given to the associations of ethnic groups and teaching in the mother tongues of the ethnic groups has gained strength and is really functioning. I am inclined again to assess all this not as "ideologically right or wrong" rather from the point of view of the material and social interests of the whole community. In my opinion it is in the interest of the whole social community of Hungary to take advantage of the opportunities provided by ethnic variety perhaps still evident in the Hungarian society for the purpose of linking the community to Europe. That the German, Slovak, Romanian and South Slav ethnic groups constitute integral parts of the Hungarian political nation and productive community in Hungary should not prevent them from preserving their languages, customs and cultures. It is perhaps not sufficiently "high-soaring" and too "pedestrian" a thought on the part of the historian perceiving the decline, if he expects now only from ethnic secondary schools a new generation of technical and other translators to ensure the contacts between the community of 10 million in this country with the neighbouring countries. I think that assimilation and the contrary process in terms of language and culture are not incompatible ideas. A historian can work only in hypothetical terms: if the community as a whole will realize the benefits accruing to it from the integration in its productive and economic programmes of social elements different in their cultures, languages and religions Germans, South Slavs, Romanians,

Slavs and one ought to mention separately the Jews considering themselves Hungarians who are not regarded as a separate ethnic group, it will gradually renounce the national prejudices which have in fact impeded their smooth integration into this community of production. Such a realization would resolve the remaining "tensions" in the ethnic minorities vis-a-vis the Hungarians. And if the historian makes hypotheses from studying the past for society, seeking alternatives in the present, why could not he do the same for his own special discipline, for the study of the past? Should history writing not approach the national and ethnic shocks of the past decade from the point of production and work organization? Books that would fill libraries have been written, for instance, in this country and elsewhere about the destruction of Jewry; it has been regarded by the authors as the fulfillment of the ideology of anti-semitism or the victory of the movement of social forces rivals of the Jews. But why have we not examined the part played in the economic difficulties in Hungary or Poland or other neighbouring countries by the destruction to such an extent of Jewry as an element having accumulated experience over centuries of conducting business in this region or by their elimination from the business or intellectual strata of the communities in the region? Or why do we not give a thought to the fact that the resettlements after World War Two have to be criticized not only because they were ill-omened actions inconsistent with humane ideas and the fine ideas of social democratism but also because the many millions of Germans evicted from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia or the Hungarians forcibly resettled from the neighbouring countries left behind them gaps in the communities of production from which they had been torn out? How much less was sustained through those actions by the governments allegedly acting in the national interest? And it would be necessary to examine the process in the opposite direction: how much harder was it for the Germans or the Hungarians to settle down among people speaking the same language than it had been to live among people speaking a different language as ethnic minorities in what nevertheless had been their homeland? So there is no national identity without social identity and identity with the community of production.

It appears to be a fact that as regards the modern socially motivated treatment of ethnic minorities within countries politics are ahead of the investigations of social sciences. But it is equally certain that as regards resolving the tensions on state level between the people of the region politics are lagging behind the prompting of social science both in readiness to act and in shaping concepts. Just as in the years after 1949 politics failed to face up to those tensions in the region no headway was made by politics to improve the situation between 1960 and 1970 either, at least as far as results are concerned. Rather the contrary, the historian studying the possibilities of eliminating the consequences of Trianon can show an exacerbation of ancient conflicts over the past four decades in the history of the region. Looking back on the years of the cult of the personality, an image of uniform socialism was before the eyes of the nationalism in the countries in Central Europe by administrative means both on the level of state politics and the attitudes of individual strata of the population. We know from analyses given in scholarly works that there went hand in hand with this violent nevertheless positive process the exclusion from

the building of socialism of any differences, national characteristics. Paradoxically, the situation in this respect deteriorated after the 20th Congress. The search for national roads in the economy and in culture began as a positive process. Simultaneously, in the sphere of ideology aspirations for independence led to a revision of national histories, more precisely to a revival of bourgeois national concepts that had been earlier suppressed. It is no coincidence that the past two decades saw the flourishing of the Daco-Roman theory and continuity in Rumania, the revival of the Thracian tradition in Bulgaria and scholarly efforts concerning the Moravian Empire in Slovakia. As a by-product more precisely an integral part of those re-awakening national ideologies, which aspire to be recognized by the states as official ideologies, there is in evidence naturally an intolerance to ethnic minorities in those countries. As I have just pointed out a paradoxical process has begun; democratization as regards the leadership of the socialist camp which gives freer scope to the individual states to seek their own ways and a reviving antidemocratic policy which aims at assimilation and eliminating the ethnic minorities also as cultural communities.

In view of all this the historian who thinks he can help his community by trying to put question and ideas to the political leaders believes himself justified to ask this question. If as far back as in 1949 an attempt was made at creating a forum for resolving together the economic problems of the region and in 1955 the Warsaw Pact was called into existence to co-ordinate military and political matters, why could not be created institutions of these countries which would provide a forum for an international discussion of the grievances of ethnic minorities in decent debates and not in unseemly quarrels? And why could not institutions supervising policies toward ethnic minorities be called into existence in the socialist countries? And in any case, why is it that for long decades no international diplomatic strategy or position has taken shape which could be a subject of debate between the members of the community? A strategy whose basic principles and observance could be debated and thereby some of the tensions could be eased which obstruct increasingly large parts of societies in having a sense of identity with the political force that leads the country?

**My second question concerns the possible reform of the system of political institutions** In the field of political identification after 1956 and later particularly after 1962 the Hungarian political leadership has been able to produce very quick and, measured on a historical scale, extremely positive results which have been appreciated also internationally. These have been described at political congresses, in resolutions, press reports and to a small extent in historical and sociological studies. The new policy of class alliance, a closer adjustment to the economic and social traditions of Hungary, a democratic reassessment of the leading role of the Party and finding a sound foreign political position within the socialist camp—that is a widely accepted list of results to which anybody could add some more. Nevertheless, I feel that a historian studying the history of the age must point to the emergence of new tensions. Tensions which are part of a growing, changing and dynamic society.

Questions: In view of the changes that have taken place in world politics since the middle of the Seventies would it not be necessary to review the system of the political institutions in the socialist countries? Let us just recall:

those processes threaten mankind in its existence as a biological unit; the interrelationship of economic and political forces has undergone a realignment in the computer world; the laws of the world market are enforced more and more ruthlessly even in the most autarkic national economics; and incidental to all this information science has broadened the view of the world of the youngest generation to an unprecedented extent.

As it is widely known the basic outlines of the system of political institutions of the socialist countries became fixed in the international workers' movement in the Thirties in a manner very much conforming to the politics of the Soviet Union in that period. Today young people measuring us all--and hopefully one day even themselves--to a high international standard ask more and more often whether our ideological apparatus and our educational and other bureaucracies raised above society can give them suitable answers to the questions posed by the age? Do all those questions not induce us to self-examination? Since the end of the Seventies it has been an increasingly frequent phenomenon that not only young intellectuals but also a growing part of young workers seek a place for raising issues affecting the affairs of the community outside the existing political institutions. Do those phenomena not demand an assessment by methods of historical science of the efficiency, and educational standard, of our system of political institutions? Whether the reassessment will produce a positive result or a negative one, the historian who wants to help politics must put facts and figures before society or else the loosening of political identity may have a disruptive effect in the community as a whole. We now have to regard it as a law of nature almost that the loosening of political identity necessarily leads to the revival of some national idea which means that the people thinking differently from the present leadership will consider themselves the true representatives of the national community rather than the present political leaders of the national community.

My third question concerns the absurd inconsistencies of the economic and political sense of identity. A number of new phenomena can be shown by our history writing or rather could be shown, if over the ensemble of countless academic posts studying--more precisely living off--recent history were to be formed into an effective historical research organization also in the areas of economy and production. Also in this field a monographic summing up would register the fast progress--admittedly also some deviations 1974-1978--of the regime. But above all it would have to take note of the social changes which have been caused by this new economic policy--policy which we now know from analytical studies--the effects of which in my opinion have begun to influence the system of identity and identification which was earlier well balanced. Let me quote a single case in point. As a consequence of the break-through of the economic mechanism raised to the status of government policy after 1968 a tremendous entrepreneurial energy was released in the Hungarian society. It is natural that this is true mainly of the younger generations who have not yet adopted a mentality of the minimum programme of reproducing themselves. It was the young who accepted easily that industry, ambition and achievement were no longer characteristics of the so called class enemy, but that those were qualities enriching the community; in fact that those qualities and their unfolding would be rewarded in everyday work by economic concessions and not just by propaganda. On the level of politics this has produced a new social mentality. First and foremost the desire of a reassessment of history. This change in the thinking

of society has been put into the following words by a young technician: "Since I too have built my house and have made my way in society by industry and hard work I refuse to be ashamed of my grandfather and my father who were called kulaks in the village only because they had worked on their small holding day and night and they lived thrifitly. I have put their pictures in a frame and hung them on the wall. I regard as enemies of the nation the people who made me feel ashamed of myself as a kulak kid in the school and again those who caused people to slaughter their sows in the mid Seventies." It is an accurate statement of the wish to achieve identity with the economy and the structure of production. And at the same time the beginning of a rightful social and national pride which will continue to be very progressive and positive in view of recent historical experience as long as the aspects of economy and production remain a part of it and as long as it does not change into uncritical national pride.

At the same time it cannot be ignored that from the end of the Seventies the release of the spirit of enterprise as well as the encouragement of market-oriented management have caused a contradiction in the price policy and a growing contradiction in the sense of identity with the political, national and productive communities. What I have in mind is that following from the principle underlying our political system to date the social elements which identified themselves with the political operation of the system, i.e. posts in political administration and posts in the economic and cultural areas which had political significance, enjoyed advantages that gave them also social prestige. Those advantages travel, good houses, holidays, etc. as well as salaries permitting them to sustain an existence considered suitable for a leader appeared to be in their eyes consistent with the political responsibility involved in representing certain principles and policies and in the cultural and administrative operation of the community. In the second half of the Seventies, however, the sphere of enterprise was allowed to gain momentum. The ruthless law of producing for the market has put in the lead the sectors production which are essential to the everyday existence of society from the plumber to some branches of the servicing industry and to some forms of market farming. As a result of this process from the end of the Seventies there has emerged in Hungarian society a stratum which has incomes many times higher than the political and cultural apparatus and so many times higher than the majority of the intelligentsia. At the same time nobody expects them to identify itself with the political system within the framework of traditional institutions. The prestige of the political, administrative and cultural apparatus that is duty-bound to identify itself day after day with the political leadership of the community for even debate and opposition constitute a kind of intention to identify oneself has fallen far behind that of the people--in the division of labour of the whole community--who identify themselves apart from their own individual interests with the community only on the level of production and the division of labour. And it is a matter of course, since there is in every social being a need for belonging to the cultural community, that an awareness of the representation of the national community has awakened in this new element. In their eyes the developments in recent years appear to prove that they, a social element outside the existing system of political institutions and distant from party politics, are really the backbone of the nation. It ought to be the subject of social psychological research why if the political leadership is at all mentioned in this social stratum it is to blame it for things going wrong. A situation that

could never have arisen in a single bourgeois state has arisen here: those feel the least identity with the political system who are at the moment making the most benefit out of it. They too criticise, of course, the Party as the leading political force for the contradictions inherent in the changes as the inventor of this whole policy.

These are questions which are designed to give food for further thought. They perhaps also direct attention to the fact that several kinds of identification are present simultaneously in society and it is wrong to limit identity to national identity and a disturbance in any of those identities threatens the disruption of the working of the whole community. Behind the "ethnic renaissance" and the "crisis of national identity"--more precisely behind the need felt by the intelligentsia to talk so much about those issues--one has to seek the action of tensions and pressures latent deep in our community of production and in our political community. And let the reader not find anything out of the ordinary in the historian going on saying his say as it is the ancient custom. He does so because he thinks he does this way his duty to the nation by laying before the community which pays him the results of his modest efforts fitting into the whole of the work of the productive community.

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CSO: 2020/159

POLITICS

POLAND

**WALESA INTERVIEWED ON SOLIDARITY, UNDERGROUND WORK**

AU271205 Vienna NEUE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 27 Jun 86 p 6

[Text] KATHPRESS recently interviewed Lech Wałęsa, the symbol of the Polish workers opposition, in Gdańsk; in the interview Wałęsa spoke in favor of a dialogue with the government and of reforms by peaceful means. Here are some excerpts:

KATHPRESS: Is time up for "Solidarity in Underground" after Zbigniew Bujak's arrest?

Wałęsa: No. Everybody must do what he can. We all have the same goal, we only use different paths to reach it. In the system in which we live different paths have to be used to achieve our ideals. A joint path would soon be destroyed. Of course, we need the underground and its work will be continued, but life underground is expensive and activities are difficult. If one organizes a strong underground group one risks an equally strong counterreaction by the government. In my opinion, one can do more if--like myself and many others--one lives in the open and works normally.

KATHPRESS: What is this daily work like?

Wałęsa: In the world there are different forms of democracy and different economic models. But in our country it is difficult to realize these concepts. We must, above all, look for Polish solutions and adopt a middle course.

KATHPRESS: Does this "middle course" include new workers protests?

Wałęsa: It is certain that new workers protests could introduce our program in national life. But this is too great a risk because protests could be crushed by violence and tanks.

Protests can start independent of our will. We, however, are in favor of a gradual development--I am sure that an improvement of the economic situation will also have positive effects on civilian and political liberties.

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CSO: 2300/424

POLITICS

POLAND

**CONGRESS SPOKESMAN ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT**

LD301326 Warsaw PAP in English 0535 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Warsaw, June 29--During a meeting with foreign newsmen accredited to the 10th PZPR Congress, press spokesman of this highest party forum Jerzy Majka characterized a report of the Central Committee entitled "The party's tasks in the socialist development of Poland" delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Stating that this was the most important event of the first day of debates, Majka stressed that the document contained the assessment of the development of all spheres of the social, political, and economic life of the country during the past five years. As far as economic issues are concerned, the report announced the continuation of both the economic reform and the economic strategy adopted by the 9th congress.

In the section devoted to international issues, the report expressed Poland's attitude to threats posed by the arms race, particularly support for peace initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Of great significance are Polish initiatives, namely the proposal to organize in Poland a conference of CSCE states on economic, scientific, technological cooperation, and a conference of the world working class, which would focus on peace and disarmament.

All sections of the report contained the affirmation that the line of the 9th PZPR Congress would be continued and developed. The number of initiatives and proposals proves that this continuation will be dynamic in all fields. The report's sincere and critical tone concerning negative phenomena proves the party's awareness of its strength to solve these problems, and set development direction mapped out by the 9th congress, Majka said.

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CSO: 2020/162

POLITICS

POLAND

VOLUNTARY WORK MARKS PZPR CONGRESS

LD012344 Warsaw PAP in English 1310 GMT 1 Jul 86

Text Warsaw, July 1—From the dozens of interviews conducted by PAP reporters throughout Poland on the second day of the 10th PUWP Congress, one gets the impression that the way in which issues are put forward at the congress meets with society's approval.

It was agreed in general that the economy was embarking onto a road of development but there is a need for consistency in putting to life the congress' decisions. Broadcasts from the debates of the 10th PUWP Congress are received by all member states of the "Intersputnik" system and some radio and tv stations cooperating within the "Intelsat" system.

Numerous work establishments throughout the country report extra production to mark the congress. By way of example, the crew of the Rzeszow-based "Polam" plant has turned out an additional 13,000 light bulbs. Over 3,500 young people from 84 enterprises undertaken extra production and voluntary work in the Lodz Voivodship. The production plan for the year-half at the Lenin Metallurgic Industrial Complex at Nowa Huta (southern Poland) was exceeded by 80,000 tons of additional pig iron, nearly 100,000 tons of steel, 20,000 tons of cold-rolled steel and 50,000 tons of hot-rolled sheet.

The ports of the western seacoast are maintaining good pace of work. Some 70,000 tonnes of goods, chiefly bulk such as hard coal, ores and phosphorite are handled in Szczecin and Swinoujscie daily.

Yesterday, young builders from the Municipal Union of Polish Socialist Youth in Kutno handed over for use 20 apartments 6 months ahead of schedule.

Dockyard workers are finishing off assembly work on the floating "mini shipyard" ordered by the Czechoslovak shipowner. The crew of the "Belchatow" lignite mine which undertook to extract a million tonnes of lignite above the 6-month plan completed the task successfully. Instead of 10,380,000 tonnes of lignite 12 million tonnes of the solid fuel were extracted.

The "Diora" audio equipment enterprise in Dzierzonow, Walbrzych Voivodship, southern Poland, fulfilling its pre-congress production commitments, is starting up the production of a new car radio receiver, the "Safari-6" using less components and worktime. In the Walbrzych Voivodship alone, over 100 enterprises have responded to "Diora's" call to take up pre-congress extra work.

Railway workers from the Warsaw railway network have made many pre-congress commitments. They have worked through an overall of 8,500 of extra work hours. Their work worth over 4 million zlotys.

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CSO: 2600/539

POLITICS

POLAND

**CONGRESS SPOKESMAN GIVES NEWS CONFERENCE 2 JUL**

**LD022344 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 2 Jul 86**

[Text] Warsaw, July 2--Press spokesman of the 10th PZPR Congress Jerzy Majka held the mast [as received] conference for Polish and foreign newsmen here today. While characterizing the plenary discussion, under way at the congress, he said that its participants voiced support for the formula of the party policy presented in the CC report. The congress debate is marked by a critical assessment of numerous phenomena and a search for ways out of the present and not easy situation of this country. It is a release of a very precious social capital, stressed the spokesman.

Many conclusions (of concern), among others, agriculture. [sentence as received] Land consolidation and enlargement of plots left to farmers who handed over their land to the state from 0.5 to 1 hectare are some of the concrete ones.

The congress spokesman informed the newsmen about lively interest aroused by the congress in the entire country. The opinion about the working nature of the congress and the realistic attitude towards reality included in congress reports is widespread. It has been said that the congress will make good use of conclusions stemming from the pre-congress discussion. Numerous PZPR committees organize meetings to currently discuss everything taking place at the congress.

The spokesman also informed the conference about actions for the congress undertaken in the entire country and gave concrete examples of such work.

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CSO: 2020/162

**SPECIAL SHOP AVAILABLE TO PZPR DELEGATES**

AU021555 Paris AFP in English 1544 GMT 2 Jul 86

[Text] Warsaw, July 2 (AFP)--While Poles queue for hours for goods which have sometimes sold out by the time they reach the front of the line, a back room gorged with merchandise has been discreetly set up for the delegates attending this week's Communist Party congress.

Foreign journalists too are allowed in the "delegate's shop," which offers quality merchandise, mostly made in Poland for sale abroad.

A saleswoman at the boutique, set up Monday and closing Saturday after the congress ends, told this correspondent that delegates "have no time to waste running from store to store in the capital."

The shop's purpose, she explained, was to gather in a single location the merchandise usually spread throughout the capital.

Poles on the street know nothing about the riches concealed on the fifth and top floor of a building in the Wola working district--where the offices of a state-run department store, the PDT, have been temporarily redesigned with shelves laden with goods.

Prices are the same as in state shops--when the goods can be found.

Quality vodka goes for 1,000 zlotys (about six dollars) per half liter (about half a quart), cotton blouses for 1,800 zlotys (11 dollars), silver fox collars for 21,000 zlotys (126 dollars) and sheepskin coats for up to 129,000 zlotys (777 dollars).

The average monthly salary in Poland is 20,000 zlotys, or 120 dollars.

Many of the goods are hard to find anywhere else than on the black market, where they cost astronomical sums. Some are for sale in the Pewex, or special stores that only accept foreign currency.

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CSO: 2020/162

POLITICS

POLAND

**GLOWCZYK ADDRESSES BLOC JOURNALISTS**

AU261043 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 86 p 2

Unattributed report: "TRYBUNA LUDU's Foreign Guests at the PZPR Central Committee—Meeting With Jan Glowczyk"

Text On Saturday, 21 June, at the Central Committee headquarters Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, met with representatives of 28 fraternal communist newspapers from 24 countries who are attending the TRYBUNA LUDU festival.

He presented the path which the party and entire country have been following from the ninth congress up to the approaching 10th congress. He said that the Central Committee's expiring term of office has been exceptionally difficult, but also particularly important. The ninth congress marked a breakthrough in the development of the present term of office. The period since the ninth congress has been a hard drive forward, but there were also setbacks and errors. What is new is that we have been able to discuss mistakes and draw conclusions from them; this has been a period of self-education for the party, workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia.

Speaking about the socialist renewal initiated by the ninth congress, Comrade Glowczyk said that this is a constant process. We possess good legal-organizational solutions, but they are still not filled with the content we would like to give them.

We in Poland are currently faced with the task of accelerating socioeconomic development, intensifying economic activity and improving its effectiveness, and guaranteeing better party influence on the processes occurring in the ideological, political, and socioeconomic spheres.

In reply to numerous questions from our guests, J. Glowczyk also devoted a lot of attention to the preparations for the 10th congress. He described the draft documents due to be presented at the highest party forum, as well as the discussions on these documents. In essence, the discussions about the congress started a long time ago, he said.

Replying to questions, J. Glowczyk also discussed current ideological problems, the principles behind relations between state and church, the working people's efforts to overcome the effects of the 1981 economic collapse, and the effects of Western economic restrictions. He also discussed numerical changes in the party and its composition.

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CSO: 2600/539

POLITICS

POLAND

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ORGANIZATION ANNIVERSARY

AU301242 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jun 86 p 5

Wojciech Wasilewski dispatch: "From Radio to Satellites"

Excerpts Prague in June--The International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT), which has its headquarters in Prague, celebrates its 40th anniversary on 28 June 1986. The organization, which numbers 23 European, Asian, African, and American countries as well as the Japanese NHK and Asahi television companies, was originally set up in Brussels in 1946 by 22 European radio companies as the International Radio Organization (OIR). However, 4 years later most of the West European countries set up a separate organization--the International Radio Union (EBU) in Geneva--and the remaining members transferred their organization to Prague. In 1960 intervision was set up within the radio organization in Prague to create the International Radio and Television Organization. The organization's basic task is to exchange programs and technology.

The tasks of the organization would not be complete without mentioning satellite television. Today about 90 percent of program exchanges are effected through satellites, and the Intersputnik system, which is centered in Moscow and which services the OIRT, has been in operation as of 1971. The system uses two space stations for television transmission--Statsyonar-4 and Statsyonar-13.

As for direct reception of satellite television with the help of homes television sets, the question still remains open. Such installations are still very expensive. However, it is possible that the encouraging results of the work done in this regard will help to change the present methods of transmission and reception.

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CSO: 2600/539

POLITICS

POLAND

WARSAW TV UPDATES BUJAK INVESTIGATION

LD272348 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2110 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] There has been a great deal of interest in the interview published a few days ago in RZECZPOSPOLITA with Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Wladyslaw Pozoga. Mainly being discussed are the overseas ties of the so-called underground Solidarity, especially with the United States. Many new facts have been revealed in connection with the continuing investigation against Zbigniew Bujak.

When we last informed you about this matter we said, among other things, that the Security Service took over a computer which the members of the Interim Coordinating Committee and the Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee were using. Today, we can already show the printouts from this computer. These are, above all, financial accounts: long columns of figures telling of thousands of dollars, West German marks, and Belgian francs allocated for illegal activity in Poland. Here is an inventory of the equipment sent to Poland last year: Typewriters, computers, and photocopiers. Now we are looking at the 1986 preliminary budget which was with Bujak when he was arrested. The sums are shown in thousands of dollars. Bujak envisaged the need to further strengthen the underground structures with an additional \$530,000. This is also an interesting document; since this is the way intelligence reports are prepared. In this case, Miroslaw Chojecki, the former Workers Defense Committee activist who resides in Paris, spells out how much money he has sent to Poland. The next matter: it transpires that illegal entities in the country were planning on starting up a Solidarity radio station in the West. It seems that following the conversation of Jerzy Milewski [a Solidarity representative], with Reagan, we read, there exists at present a favorable situation in this respect. Irrespective of the strengthening of the signals of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, it would be appropriate to ask for help in the creation of a Radio S/S for Solidarity/. As there was still no little money and equipment in the underground, the creation of a Polish overseas company officially concerned with the production of electromedical equipment, but in reality with the production of photocopiers, was thought up. That was what the money had been requested for. The detained in this case often talks about contacts with the U.S. Embassy. [passage indistinct]

Zbigniew Lewicki and Alicja Komorowska, who had acted as a liaison for Zbigniew Bujak, wrote letters recently to General Czeslaw Kiszcak. Here is what Alicja Komorowska writes:

Mr Minister, I read with interest your interview published in TRYBUNA LUDU under the title: I Shall Talk to Everybody. With reference to the interview I would like to state the following: On 2 June 1986, I was temporarily detained in connection with the case against Zbigniew Bujak and others. The third week of my detention under investigative arrest has already passed. This is causing me quite serious distress and is too high a price for what I have done. I point out that I am providing a comprehensive explanation of my role in the case. I have no intention of hindering the investigation. I have thought deeply about my situation, and I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to return to a normal life. After reading your interview, Mr Minister, I consider you to be the most proper addressee for my request. For my part, I declare that in the future I will not violate the prevailing legal order. Respectfully, Alicja Komorowska.

And here is an excerpt of a letter by Zbigniew Lewicki:

The price which we both are paying or will pay for our actions is obviously high, perhaps incommensurably high. But it is not for me to judge its proper extent or the proper balance between some professional achievement [as heard] and the social harm of the deed of which we are being accused.

For this reason, in spite of obvious inconvenience and worry connected with my situation now and in the future, I could not act in my own case. Therefore, I ask you, Mr Minister, to consider Mrs Komorowska's situation first of all. I think that I can, on her and my own behalf, state that the deed which caused our detention was a particular action resulting from the coincidence of particular circumstances. I am convinced that this situation will certainly not be repeated. Respectfully, Zbigniew Lewicki.

We obtained the consent of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office for the publication of the documents presented you today, and for showing the pictures of the suspects. We shall keep you informed about future developments in this matter.

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CSO: 2600/539

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

**WEST EUROPEAN DEMONSTRATORS FINED**--Warsaw, July 1 (AFP)--Eight West Europeans arrested for demonstrating outside the building where the Polish Communist Party was holding its 10th congress were Tuesday fined 50,000 zlotys (about 300 dollars) each in police court here. Apart from Mr. Corleone, the group--six men and two women--consisted of two other Italians, one Frenchman, two Belgians, and two Spaniards. [Excerpts] [Paris AFP in English 1442 GMT 1 Jul 86 AU] /6662

**BULGARIAN CONDOLENCES FOR VICTIMS**--Warsaw, July 2--PZPR CC First Secretary and President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, together with Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, today extended thanks to Bulgarian Communist Party CC General Secretary, President of the Bulgarian State Council Todor Zhivkov and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Georgi Atanasov for the condolences received from Sofia after the Srednogorie fire in which Polish workers were killed and injured. The Poles were building an industrial chimney for a steel mill in Srednogorie when the accident occurred on June 23. The toll has recently grown to 10. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 2 Jul 86 LD] /6662

**FOREIGN DEMONSTRATORS EXPELLED**--Warsaw, July 2 (AFP)--Eight members of the European Radical Party who unfurled an anti-government banner here Monday outside the 10th Polish Communist Party Congress were expelled Wednesday, a diplomatic source said. [Excerpt] [Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 2 Jul 86 AU] /6662

**GDR DECORATES MESSNER**--Warsaw, July--PZPR CC Political Bureau member, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner was decorated here today with the German Democratic Republic's golden order of the "Star of the Friendship of Nations" by leader of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) delegation to the 10th PZPR Congress, SED CC Political Bureau member and chairman of the Council of Ministers Willi Stoph. The distinction was granted to Messner for his immense contribution to the development of cooperation between the two brotherly parties and good neighbourly relations between both socialist states. While expressing thanks to the GDR state and party leaders, the Polish premier said that he accepted the distinction as a moral satisfaction for the intensification of the Polish-GDR friendly relations which added to the socialist community's consolidation and are an important factor in preserving peace and security in Europe. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1555 GMT 2 Jul 86 LD]

RADIO, TV TRANSMISSION FROM CONGRESS—Transmissions from the deliberations of the 10th PZPR Congress are being received by all the member countries of the inter-Sputnik system and certain radio and television stations cooperating with the Intelsat system. The 28-person team servicing the Polish satellite communication center in the heart of Swietokrzyskie Hills [Gory Swietokrzyskie], in the vicinity of the village of Stara, are experiencing a busy time. During the last radio and televisions from the World Cup, preparations were in progress here for the efficient transmission of reports from the deliberations of the 10th party congress. Via the mediation of parabolic antennae of the Inter-Sputnik and Intelsat systems, reports from Warsaw are flowing to the world through communications satellites. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Jun 86] /8309

WASHINGTON POST CITED—The renowned U.S. daily THE WASHINGTON POST has published an article referring to the so-called Kuklinski affair. It criticizes the administration for failing to reply to a letter from the chairman of the U.S. Polonia Congress, Alojzy Mazewski, concerning the affair. Several questions are also posed in the article: why is Kuklinski, living at present in the United States, under such strong security? Why can he not meet representatives of the press? Why did Ronald Reagan's administration not warn the leaders of Solidarity in the period of confrontation with the Polish Government in 1981? [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Jul 86] /8309

SIWICKI, MILITARY AKTIV MEET—There was discussion of the implementation of the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress during a meeting between Army General [General Armii] Florian Siwicki and the cadres and party aktiv of the "Warszawa" 1st Fighter Squadron. These matters also were broached during a meeting of the authorities of the capital, in which PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member Janusz Kubasiewicz participated. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 5 Jul 86] /8309

CSO: 2600/539

POLITICS

ROMANIA

CAPE VERDE PRESIDENT ARRIVES FOR VISIT

Welcomed by Radulescu, Vaduva

AU231452 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1402 GMT 23 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23 June 1986--Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Republic of Cape Verde, and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira arrived in Bucharest on Monday, June 23, for an official visit of friendship to Romania upon an invitation by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and of Mme Elena Ceausescu.

Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport, the guests were welcomed by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy vice-president of the State Council of Romania, Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Ceausescu Hosts Dinner

AU231949 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 23 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23 June 1986--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu gave an official dinner on Monday in honor of Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Republic of Cape Verde, and of Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira.

During the dinner, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, Nicolae Ceausescu and Aristides Maria Pereira proposed toasts.

Ceausescu, Pereira Start Talks

AU231945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 23 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23 June 1986--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde,

president of the Republic of Cape Verde, opened their official talks in Bucharest on June 23 in the afternoon.

During their talks, the two party and state leaders analyzed aspects of the development of commercial ties and bilateral commercial exchanges, as well as possibilities of expanding cooperation in various areas.

At the same time, opinions were exchanged on the course of the international situation. The two sides expressed their concern over the deterioration of the international situation as an outcome of a continuing arms race, nuclear in the first place, of sharper military conflicts and worse world economic situation, which affect the developing countries more and more adversely.

Referring to the situation in Europe, where huge amounts of weapons, of nuclear arms in particular, have been amassed, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the need to take action to check the dangerous course of events toward confrontation and war, to do everything possible to halt nuclear tests and the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in the European continent, most rapidly eliminate all nuclear weapons, reduce conventional weapons and military spending, build up a climate of confidence and security.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the importance of settling states of tension and conflict and interstate litigious issues by political means, through negotiations.

Opinions were exchanged on the situation in Africa and the significance was emphasized of consolidating the unity and solidarity of the countries on that continent for the resolution of the complex problems they encounter.

Blaming South Africa's acts of aggression against neighboring independent and sovereign states, Nicolae Ceausescu and Aristides Maria Pereira reiterated the two countries' solidarity with the Namibian people's independence fight under SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leadership, with all the African peoples' struggle for the abolition of colonialism, of the racist and apartheid policy, for a free advance on the road of economic and social progress.

During the talks, the importance was underscored of strengthening the developing countries' collaboration and unity for their independent economic and social progress, of calling an international conference, under UN aegis, to find a global solution to underdevelopment-related questions, to the problem of the inordinately high foreign debts burdening those countries, included, and help establish a new international economic order.

Stress was laid on the role devolving on small- and medium-sized countries, on developing and non-aligned countries in the resolution of the intricate problems which confront mankind.

The talks passed in a friendly atmosphere, under the sign of mutual esteem and respect.

Ceausescu Dinner Toasts

AU261124 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jun 86 p 2

[Report on toast given by President Nicolae Ceausescu at dinner in honor of the President of Cape Verde, Aristides Maria Pereira, at the Bucharest Palace of the State Council on 23 June]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Aristides Pereira, esteemed Comrade Carlina Pereira, Comrades and Friends:

We take great pleasure in welcoming you as guests of Socialist Romania and we extend to you warm welcome greetings on your arrival in our country.

The new visit you are paying to Romania is an expression of the positive course of the relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity established between our countries and parties since the years of your people's liberation struggle. We highly value these relations, based on full equality, esteem and mutual respect, and I believe that during the talks we started today we will find new ways and means to further consolidate and develop these relations. We wish that, through joint efforts, we may strengthen cooperation and collaboration in the fields of economy, science, and technology, and in other sectors of mutual interest, on the basis of understandings and long-term agreements which will give stability and prospects to these relations. We believe that this is in accordance with the interests of the progress and independent development of our countries and people, and at the same time, represents a contribution to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

We are familiar with the great efforts made by your country to eliminate the hardships inherited from the past of a colonial domination, to defend and consolidate the national independence, and to ensure the country's socio-economic progress. As friends, we wish you ever greater successes on the road of building an independent and free country and of ensuring a dignified and happy life for the people in your country.

The visit you are paying to our country gives you the opportunity to acquaint yourself directly with some of the achievements and current concerns of the Romanian people, who are engaged with all their strength in fulfilling the Eighth 5-Year Plan for the country's socioeconomic development and in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, which formulated the objectives and tasks for ensuring Romania's passage to a new, superior stage and for ensuring new quality in the work and life of the whole nation.

Further, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

We are constantly concerned with strongly developing the economy, science, and culture and, on this basis, with raising the general level of our people's well-being and civilization--the supreme goal of our Communist Party, the essence of the socialist society we are building in Romania. Likewise, we attach particular attention to the current international situation. We believe

that neither we, nor any other nation, can fulfill our plans for development and progress, unless we have peace and international cooperation. Therefore, at the center of our entire international activity we place the firm promotion of the policy of peace and understanding among all nations throughout the world.

The international situation continues to be very serious and complex as a result of the continuation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and as a result of the maintenance of numerous conflicts in various parts of the world, of a policy of force and brutal interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The fundamental problem of our times is to defend peace, to halt the arms race, and to proceed to concrete disarmament measures. It is more necessary than ever that people and progressive forces throughout the world should increase their efforts and cooperate more closely to eliminate the danger of a world war, which would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe and would lead to the elimination of the conditions for life itself on our planet.

We support the program proposed by the Soviet Union regarding the elimination, of the entire arsenal of nuclear weapons in several stages and by the end of this century. We believe that all possible efforts should be made to reach, in the shortest time possible and as of this year, an agreement on halting the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe and on starting the elimination of those already in place.

At the same time, we believe that the program for reducing conventional weapons adopted at the recent meeting of the consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact members socialist countries is very important. The attainment of a reduction--by the year 1990--of 25 percent of arms, troops, and military expenditures will make possible the passage to new measures, so that by the year 2000 a reduction of at least 50 percent of both conventional weapons and military expenditures will be attained. In this way huge material, financial, and human means will be freed and it will be possible to use them for other purposes such as socioeconomic development or support for the efforts made by developing countries to ensure their progress.

We also believe that an appropriate agreement on all countries' halting nuclear tests should be reached as soon as possible. Likewise, everything necessary should be done to prevent the militarization of outer space and to establish an international treaty on utilizing outer space only for peaceful purposes.

Concurrent with disarmament measures, efforts should be increased to solve expeditiously, through negotiations, the existing conflicts in various parts of the world, to renounce the use or the threat of force in international relations, and to stop any interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The Romanian people and Socialist Romania--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu further said--have always manifested their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Africa to eliminate colonialism completely, to consolidate national independence, and to ensure their free development on the road of socioeconomic progress.

We have spoken out and are speaking out firmly for the strengthening of cooperation and unity among African people. We believe that an important role in this respect is played by the Organization of African Unity, which can make a significant contribution to developing cooperation among the states of that continent and to uniting efforts for finding political solutions to all the problems that exist among some of them.

We manifest our complete solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people, led by the South-West African People's organization, to regain their national independence. We firmly condemn the aggressive actions of the racist Pretoria regime against independent, neighboring African countries and we call most resolutely for a halt to the apartheid policy and for ensuring that the majority population in Africa have free access to the entire political and social life of the country.

Romania militates consistently for the elimination of underdevelopment and for the attainment of a new international economic order, based on the principles of full equality and equity in interstate relations. For this purpose, we believe that it is necessary to organize an international conference within the United Nations with a view to finding global solutions to the problem of underdevelopment—including the problem of the developing countries' extremely large foreign debts—and to establishing a new international economic order.

Resolving the complex problems confronting our times requires that all countries participate in international life--under conditions of complete equality--particularly small and medium sized countries, developing, and nonaligned countries which are directly interested in a policy of cooperation, independence, and peace.

Likewise, we believe that the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in solving problems, in democratizing interstate relations, and in ensuring peace throughout the world should be increased.

I believe that the visit you are paying to Romania will open up new prospects for the many-sided cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples, and I wish to raise a toast:

--To the health of Comrade Aristides Pereira and of Comrade Carlin Pereira;

--To the continuous strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Cape Verde, between our parties and peoples;

--To peace and cooperation throughout the world;

--To the health of all of you! [Applause]

#### Pereira Visits Economic Units

AU251912 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/6/1986--As part of their official visit of friendship to Romania, upon an invitation extended by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu, Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the

Republic of Cape Verde, Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira and the officials accompanying them visited on Wednesday morning the petrochemical combine at Brazi, Prahova County, a representative unit for this branch of the Romanian industry, which manufactures more than 100 types, many of them in great demand abroad.

The messengers of the people of the Republic of Cape Verde were accompanied by Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign affairs, and Olimpia Solomonescu, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP.

The same day, President Aristides Maria Pereira and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira also saw round the history museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Bucharest, as well as residential areas in the Romanian capital.

#### Official Talks End

AU261047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/6/1986--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu met again on June 26 in the morning with Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Cape Verde Republic, and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira.

Within the new round of talks, presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Aristides Maria Pereira continued the exchanges of views on the development of the bilateral collaboration as well as in connection with the evolution of international situation.

The two party and state leaders expressed their satisfaction at the results of the visit, of the talks conducted, at the understandings reached on the occasion. It was assessed that broad possibilities were at hand for the amplification of the cooperation between the two countries, based on fully equal rights, mutual esteem and regard.

On approaching a string of aspects of the world political situation, the exchange of views emphasized the mutual wish for active collaboration on an international plane toward disarmament and defence of peace, toward the creation of a climate of detente and broad collaboration among nations.

The talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, under the token of mutual esteem and regard.

The results of the visit were recorded in a communique which will be released.

#### Visitors Seen off by Ceausescu

AU260942 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0919 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/6/1986--The official visit of friendship paid to Romania by Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Cape Verde Republic, together with Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira, came to an end on June 26 in the morning.

The distinguished guests were most warmly seen off by Nicolae Ceausescu, by Mme Elena Ceausescu, by other members of Romania's party and state leadership.

Ceausescu Gives Official Welcome

AU231837 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23 June 1986--Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Republic of Cape Verde, and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira, arrived in Bucharest on Monday, June 23, for an official visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and of Mme Elena Ceausescu.

In a festive atmosphere, a ceremony took place outside the Palace of the Republic in the center of the Romanian capital city where the guest was officially welcomed.

To the applause of the thousands of Bucharesters present in the republic square, adorned with the state flags of the two countries, President Aristides Maria Pereira and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira were greeted with friendship and cordiality by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu.

The two party and state leaders warmly shook hands and embraced each other. Mme Elena Ceausescu and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira greeted each other with the same cordiality.

The visit paid to Romania by the party and state leader of the Republic of Cape Verde goes down as an important moment in the chronicle of the links of friendship, collaboration and militant solidarity between the two parties, states and peoples, which found an expression in Socialist Romania's broad, multilateral support to the anticolonialist and national liberation fight waged by the people of that country. Furthermore, the visit bespeaks the joint wish further to strengthen the friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, in their mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

On Monday in the afternoon, Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the Republic of Cape Verde, and Mme Carlina Fortes Pereira formally called on Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and on Mme Elena Ceausescu.

The interview passed in an atmosphere of warm cordiality, under the sign of the fine links of friendship and collaboration which were established and have been developing continuously between the two parties, countries and peoples.

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CSO: 2020/160

POLITICS

ROMANIA

**CEAUSESCU RECEIVES MALTESE PARLIAMENTARIANS**

**AU271801 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1718 GMT 27 Jun 86**

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/06/1986--On Friday, June 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received a parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Malta, led by Daniel Micallef, speaker of the House of Representatives, who are paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation from the Grand National Assembly.

The delegation includes James Ferrugia and Cettina Darmenia Brincat, members of the House of Representatives.

Expressing warm thanks for having been received, the chief delegate showed that he had the pleasant mission of conveying President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial salute, wishes of good health and happiness, of prosperity for the Romanian people on behalf of the president of the Republic of Malta, Agatha Barbara, and of that country's prime minister, Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici.

The guest expressed high appreciation for the Romanian people's results in developing industry, agriculture, science and culture, in raising its material and spiritual standards, as well as of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and demarches in the international life for a policy of peace, collaboration and broad understanding among nations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed Malta's president and its prime minister a warm salute and the friendly Maltese people wishes of progress and prosperity.

During the interview, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, the positive course of the Romanian-Maltese links was underscored and the wish was expressed to further develop them, in line with the understandings reached at top level.

Aspects of the international life were also approached. Emphasis was placed on the contribution parliaments can make to the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, to a halt to the deployment of new weapons in Europe, the ensurance of peace, security and detente in our continent, in the Mediterranean and all over the world to the political, negotiated settlement of

states of tension and conflict, to the establishment of a new world economic order.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Nicolae Calinou, deputy.

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CSO: 2020/163

POLITICS

ROMANIA

ENACHE MEETS SWISS SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER

Exchange of Messages

AU201921 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Jun 86

[Text] Berne, AGERPRES June 20, 1986--Helmut Hubacher, chairman of the Swiss Socialist Party, received Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, an exchange of messages of salute took place between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and Helmut Hubacher, chairman of the Swiss Socialist Party.

Helmut Hubacher underscored the relations of friendship existing between the two parties, based on esteem and mutual respect, and expressed the wish to further develop these relations. The chairman of the Swiss Socialist Party was highly appreciative of the activity deployed by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, for securing a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration the world over.

Delivers RCP Message to Party Congress

AU212006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 21 Jun 86

["Message Addresses by RCP to Congress of Swiss Socialist Party"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 21 June 1986--On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm friendly salute and wishes of success have been addressed to the participants in the Congress of the Swiss Socialist Party (SSP) by the RCP representative at the congress, Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The message highlights the good, friendly relations between the RCP and the SSP and expresses the conviction that their further development will help strengthening the friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, will serve the cause of peace, detente, security in Europe and in the world.

The Romanian Communist Party, Romania--reads the message--consider the current international situation to continue to be particularly grave, with even a certain accentuation of the tension as a consequence of continuing arms race, nuclear one in particular, of the existence of many states of conflict and tension, of the effects of the world economic crisis and of a worsening economic situation of the developing countries. All these lead to enhancing the danger of a new world war that would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe that would lead to the eradication of the very conditions of life in our planet. Pointing out that the Romanian people are deeply concerned over the grave situation that emerged in Europe through the accumulation of huge arsenals and troops, of mass destruction means, the message reasserts that the RCP has welcomed and supported the program proposed by the USSR to liquidate by the end of the century the entire nuclear arsenal, and considers that starting from the ideas tabled by both sides a passage has to be made to reaching adequate agreements to remove the danger of a nuclear war and to halt the militarization of outer space. We also speak up for the U.S. to join the unilateral moratorium of the USSR, and for a general agreement on all the states halting the nuclear tests, reads the message. It adds: Building a world free of weapons and wars asks for passing to the working out of a complex program of general disarmament that, while focussing on the nuclear disarmament, should envisage a reduction by half of troops, conventional weapons and military spending by the year 2000, first of all on the part of the heavily armed countries, and the endorsement of concrete measures for a renunciation of force in the international relations and for solving all the litigious interstate problems exclusively politically, through negotiations.

Under the current international circumstances, concludes the message, the RCP considers there is a need for everything to be done to provide a wide development, on an equal footing and based on mutual respect, of the relations between the communist and worker, socialist, social democratic, the ruling parties in all the developing countries and the national liberation movements, the progressive and democratic forces everywhere, in the struggle to build a better and more just world, for freedom and national independence, for peace and social progress.

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CSO: 2020/160

POLITICS

ROMANIA

MONTH OF SOLIDARITY WITH KOREAN PEOPLE MARKED

AU251336 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1220 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Romania Is Solid with the Just Struggle of the Korean People"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/6/1986--The Romanian press runs extensive articles marking the beginning, on June 25, of the "Month of Solidarity with the Korean People's Struggle," underscoring that, in parallel to the fruitful activity for the country's economic and social development, the Worker's Party of Korea, the Government of the DPR of Korea have consistently deployed broad efforts for the peaceful and democratic reunification of the fatherland, whose artificial partition has seriously affected the interests of the whole Korean people, being a source of tension in the area as well as internationally. The press shows that the DPR of Korea has advanced several constructive proposals for the elimination of that historical injustice, which were summed up in the programme for the setting up of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Korea. The proposal set forth by the Government of the DPR of Korea on the organization of negotiations between the DPR Korea, the USA and South Korea is consonant with the attainment of major reunification desideratum. A few days ago, the Government of the DPR Korea released in the press a highly significant statement, whereby it proposes the transformation of the Korean peninsula into a zone of peace, free from nuclear arms and bases.

The Romanian people has constantly expressed its solidarity with the just cause of the Korean people, both in the hard war period and in all the years that have elapsed ever since, it has firmly backed the initiatives and proposals advanced by the party and state leadership of the DPR Korea, aimed at Korea's peaceful, democratic and independent reunification, newspaper SCINTEIA points out. This consistent stand has been expressed on many an occasion, at the UN included, as well as in other international forums.

Highlighting on this occasion the fine ties of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the DPR of Korea, the article further writes, the Romanian people rejoices in the fact that those relations take a steadily upward course, benefiting from the auspicious framework provided by the treaty of friendship and collaboration and the joint declaration signed at top level. Moreover, the long-term agreement on economic and technical-scientific collaboration and cooperation until the year 2000, which bears the signatures of Presidents

Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, lays out the framework of the two countries' and people's fruitful, long-term cooperation. Links in science, culture are also stepped up, just as interchanges of experience on a party and state line.

A strong incentive for the growth of the Romanian-Korean relations of close friendship and collaboration is provided by the frequent meetings and talks, in Bucharest and Pyongyang, between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, SCINTEIA stresses, writing in conclusion: obviously, the further development of Romanian-Korean collaboration on a political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural plane meets the interests of both peoples, making also a major contribution to the cause of peace, progress and international understanding. To the Romanian people, the "Month of Solidarity with the Korean People's Struggle" is another opportunity to reiterate its full support to the Korean people's struggle for a united, free, independent and prosperous Korea.

In its turn, daily ROMANIA LIBERA shows that the Romanian people harbours the belief that whatever the obstacles in the way of Korea's reunification, that foremost national goal will be eventually attained, and that all Koreans--in the North or the South--will live in a unified, free and prosperous fatherland. The "Month of Solidarity with the Korean People's Struggle" is an opportunity of warm friendship and militant solidarity with the Korean people's just cause. Believing that the cooperative ties between the two countries and peoples will steadily develop, the Romanian people wishes further successes to the Korean people in the building of the new system, as well as the earliest attainment of its ardent wish to live in a unified, free, democratic and prosperous country, ROMANIA LIBERA newspaper concludes.

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CSO: 2020/163

POLITICS

ROMANIA

**STOIAN ACTIVITIES AT PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS**

**Meets Party Chief**

AU281804 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Lisbon, AGERPRES 28/6/1986--The president of the Portuguese Socialist Party [PSP], Antonio Macedo, received Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who represents the Romanian Communist Party to the Sixth PSP Congress.

The leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party was conveyed warm greetings from the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu. Thanking, Antonio Macedo requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial message of friendship, warm wishes of good health and of fresh success in the activity he is carrying on at head of the RCP and the Romanian state.

During the talk stress was laid on the ascending course of relations between the two parties and the joint wish was expressed to work for the expansion of the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the two peoples and countries. The necessity was also underlined of intensifying cooperation between the two parties internationally, for the settlement of the stringent problems facing mankind and, especially, for the safeguarding and maintenance of world peace.

**Conveys Ceausescu Message**

AU281806 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1525 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/6/1986--A message of salute was conveyed to the Sixth Congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu. The message was conveyed by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who represents the RCP to the congress proceedings.

The Romanian Communists and the entire people, the message shows, follow with keen interest the efforts made by the Portuguese Socialist Party for renewal transformations in the country's sociopolitical life, for the promotion of the friendly Portuguese people's aspirations for progress and prosperity, for a policy of peace and international collaboration.

The presence of a Romanian Communist Party delegation to the congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party is an expression of the relations of friendship and productive cooperation that were established between the two countries a long time ago. We in Romania are determined to work for the continuous growth of those ties, which fully meets the interests of both countries and peoples, the cause of solidarity of the working people, as well as the requirements for peace, security and collaboration in Europe and in the world.

Highlighting that the Romanian Communist Party develops relations of collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and worker parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, with all the progressive and democratic forces of the contemporary age, on the basis of full equality, respect for each party's right to work out its political line in keeping with specific conditions in each country, without any outside interference, the message reads: It is the firm belief of our party that in the current historical stage, which is decisive for mankind's very existence, all political forces of the working class--in consideration of their responsibility before parties, the working class, the peoples and mankind as a whole--should work for the strengthening of collaboration and the surmounting of divergencies, for a new, great unity in diversity of the revolutionary and progressive political forces.

In conclusion, the message conveys wishes of full success in the fulfillment of the decisions to be made during the congress, in the whole activity of the Portuguese Socialist Party aimed at safeguarding the working people's interests, the friendly Portuguese people's progress and welfare, the promotion of the cause of peace and international collaboration.

#### Greets Portuguese Socialist Leaders

AU301935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Lisbon, AGERPRES 30/06/1986--Warm congratulations and the best wishes were conveyed to Vitor Constancio and Manuel Tito de Moreais on behalf of the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, on their election to the office of Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP) secretary-general and president, respectively.

The secretary-general and the president of the PSP asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed cordial thanks for his congratulations, as well as their best wishes.

The congratulations were presented when the secretary-general and the president of the Portuguese Socialist Party received Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who represented the RCP to the PSP Congress.

During the talk emphasis was placed on the fine ties between the two parties, and on the upward course of the relations between Romania and Portugal. Stress was laid on the possibilities for the two parties' many-sided cooperation, as well as on the joint wish to boost and diversify the friendly and cooperative ties between the RCP and the PSP, between Romania and Portugal, in the interest of both countries, of world peace and detente.

During his visit to Portugal, Ion Stoian also held talks with Dr Dias Loureiro, secretary-general of the Social Democratic Party of Portugal, when they highlighted both parties' interest in cooperating and developing ties in questions of mutual interest, particularly on questions related to the safeguarding and maintenance of peace, to disarmament and international detente.

Meets Communist Leader Cunhal

AU301804 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1508 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Lisbon, AGERPRES 30/6/1986--Alvaro Cunhal, secretary-general of the Portuguese Communist Party, received Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, now visiting Portugal. On the occasion, the Portuguese communist leader was conveyed a warm salute, wishes of good health and of further successes in party activity on behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking, Alvaro Cunhal asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed his cordial salute and the best wishes of good health and of further successes in his activity at the head of the party and state. Moreover, he addressed the Romanian people wishes of prosperity and further achievements in building multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

During the talk, reference was made to the positive course of the ties of close friendship and solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Portuguese Communist Party and the joint wish was expressed to further expand them, to the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace, of security and international understanding.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

### CEAUSESCU AWARDS COUNTY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

AU252031 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Republic, this morning awarded high distinctions of the SR of Romania to 100 county party organizations and county people's councils, which occupied the first place in the socialist competition for 1985. The ceremony took place at the Hall of the Palace of the Republic in the presence of participants in the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council.

For outstanding results attained in fulfilling and exceeding the 1985 uniform national plan for socioeconomic development in the competition between county party organizations in industry, constructions, transportation, and goods circulation, by presidential decree, the Labor Order First Class was awarded to Olt County Party Organization and Vrancea County Party Organization for occupying the first place.

For outstanding results attained in fulfilling and exceeding 1985 plan tasks at the main agricultural indicators in the competition between county party organizations, the Agricultural Merit Order First Class was awarded to Timis County Party Organization and Olt County Party Organization for occupying the first place.

For outstanding results attained in the competition between county people's councils in fulfilling 1985 plan tasks, the title of Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to the Iasi County People's Council, which has occupied the first place in the socialist competition for 4 consecutive years; likewise, the Labor Order First Class was awarded to Ti-is County People's Council, for occupying the first place.

By the same presidential decree, 330 orders of the SR of Romania and 16 diplomas of honor were awarded to certain county party organizations and county people's councils as well as to certain units in industry, agriculture, forestry, transportation, goods circulation, communal administration, services, and scientific research, which occupied front-ranking places in the socialist competition.

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RCP CC HOMAGE TO CEAUSESCU ON BRASOV TRIAL

AU261508 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 25 June carries on page 2 a 700-word report on the proceedings of the RCP Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest on 23-24 June.

The report includes the information that "the party Central Committee paid an ardent and enthusiastic homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania on the 50th anniversary of the Brasov trial of communist and antifascist fighters" and adds that "the homage was presented by Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee."

Bucharest SCINTEIA of the same day carries on its page 1 the 700-word text of the above-mentioned "homage," headlined "homage of the RCP Central Committee to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the 50 anniversary of the Brasov trial of communist and antifascist fighters." The homage reiterates Ceausescu's "heroic and glorious activity" and his "tireless activity and exemplary life" that are closely bound to the "vital interests of the country, of the Romanian people, and of the noble cause of socialism and communism on the dear soil of the homeland."

In the homage the "great historical importance" of the Brasov trial is emphasized and "deep gratitude and best wishes for health and a long life and working energy" are expressed. The homage concludes with the pledges of the RCP Central Committee to Ceausescu "not to spare any efforts to commendably implement the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state, and unflinchingly follow your brilliant example of work and life, of thinking and revolutionary struggle devoted to the noble aspirations of the Romanian people."

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LEADERS ADDRESS RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU291917 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 24 June on pages 4 and 5 and 25 June on pages 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 carries 29 reports ranging between 700 and 1,400 words on speeches made by top party leaders at the 23-24 June RCP Central Committee plenum in Bucharest. All speeches, totaling some 15,000 words, deal in general terms with various facets of socioeconomic life and party activity, with particular emphasis on Nicolae Ceausescu's great merits in fashioning Romania's overall domestic and foreign policy. Most of the speakers admit certain failures in their specific fields of activity, assume full responsibility for them, pledge to work better in the future, and all the speakers fully endorse all documents adopted.

Constantin Olteanu is the only full member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee whose speech is reported (in 1,600 words, on page 2 of the 25 June SCINTEIA). Speaking in his capacity as first secretary of the Bucharest RCP Municipal Committee, Olteanu refers to socioeconomic achievements and concerns in Bucharest, with stress on the need to find "new export outlets for our production." In a speech which is rather devoid of self-criticism, he says among other things that "in the first 5 months of this year, the Bucharest working people have attained a supplementary industrial commodity production worth almost 2 billion lei; the labor productivity plan was fulfilled in a proportion of 101.3 percent and the investment plan 101.7 percent, while the exports have increased by 19 percent compared with the same period last year." Oprea concludes his speech by assuring Ceausescu that the Bucharest working people will do their best to "fulfill the great targets of the current stage of the country's development, thus paying homage, through actual deeds, to our eminent leader."

Speeches by the following PEC candidate members are reported: Marin Enache, minister of metallurgical industry, who talks about certain failures "in ensuring adequate supplies of raw and other materials" and the need to "instill more order and discipline in the activity of all units and eliminate shortcomings"; Mihai Marina, first secretary of the Constanta County RCP Committee, and Ioachim Moga, first secretary of the Cluj County RCP Committee, who talk about economic achievements and concerns in their respective counties; and Ioan Ursu, first vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, who effusively praises Elena Ceausescu's personality and merits as a "scientist of world renown" and pledges to work harder to "introduce the latest achievements of science and technology into production."

Speeches by various Central Committee members with ministerial positions are also reported: Mihai Moraru, minister of heavy equipment, who pledges "to double commodity production and labor productivity by 1990"; Gheorghe Dinu, minister of chemical industry, who, in the light of the "justified criticism made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenum," pledges "to radically improve the entire activity"; Alexandru Necula, minister of electrical engineering, who pledges to take "further steps to cut down the consumption of materials, energy, and fuel"; Ioan Avram, minister of electric power, who says that, although "the production of electric power has registered an 8.8 percent increase in the first 5 months of this year," his ministry has "failed to attain the established production levels, particularly in coal-based power stations."

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ROMANIA

LEADERS' SPEECHES AT 24-25 JUNE JOINT PLENUM

AU291647 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 26 June carries on pages 4 and 5 12 reports ranging between 700 and 1,200 words on speeches made by top party-state leaders at the 24-25 June Bucharest joint plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Socio-economic Development Council. All reports, totaling some 9,000 words, deal in general terms with various facets of Romania's socioeconomic life, with great emphasis on Ceausescu's leading role in all fields; the speakers admit the existence of failures in their specific spheres of activity, assume full responsibility for them, pledge to eliminate negative states of affairs, and enthusiastically endorse all documents adopted.

The only full member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee whose speech is reported by the newspaper is Alexandrina Gainuse, minister of light industry. After duly eulogizing Ceausescu's personality and great merits, Gainuse deals mainly with achievements and concerns in the light industry, stressing that 'in the first 5 months of this year, the commodity-output plan was fulfilled in a proportion of 101.2 percent, which means a supplementary production worth 673 million lei; the labor productivity plan was fulfilled in a proportion of 102.1 percent and the plan for deliveries to the market stocks 100.1 percent.' Without going into details she mentions "certain shortcomings in the activity of the ministry's management council."

Speeches by two PEC candidate members are also reported: Leonard Constantin, chairman of Iasi County People's Council, and Ilie Matei, chairman of Timis County People's Council, who deal mainly with local achievements and various shortcomings in their respective counties.

SCINTEIA also reports on speeches by two ministers, members of the RCP Central Committee: Petre Gigea, minister of finance, who fully admits "the correctness of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's severe criticism of the activity of financial-banking bodies" and pledges to "strictly observe the new economic-financial regulations" which aim at ensuring that economic units resort to fewer credits and secure 'their own material, labor, and monetary means to self-finance their activity'; and Maxim Berghianu, minister of labor, who pledges to "fully utilize the available technical and human potential" in order "to double labor productivity by the year 1990."

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BORDER GUARDS SEND TELEGRAM TO CEAUSESCU

AU281551 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Jun 86 p 5

[Cable sent to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu by the participants in the festive meeting, occasioned by the celebration of the Day of the Border Guards, held at Bucharest Central Army House on 25 June]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, the supreme commander of the armed forces.

On behalf of all the guards of the homeland's borders, the participants in the festive meeting dedicated to the celebration of the Day of the Border Guards of the SR of Romania express their feelings of profound esteem, boundless love, high appreciation, and ardent gratitude they nature for you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most brilliant son of the Romanian people, the great leader of our party and country, illustrious strategist and founder of modern Socialist Romania, and prominent personality of our times, for the prodigious activity you carry out in order to raise our homeland onto the highest peaks of socialist and communist civilization, to strengthen its defense capability, to increasingly assert our country in the international arena, and to promote peace, cooperation, and understanding among nations.

Likewise, we express our most noble and respectful feelings of esteem to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, outstanding political personality and scientist known worldwide, for her contribution of particular significance to formulating and implementing the internal and foreign policy of our party and state and for her particular contribution to developing science technology, education, culture, and the Romanian society.

We report to you, much esteemed comrade Supreme Commander, that the officers, warrant officers, noncommissioned officers, active military, and all personnel of the border guards troops act with determination and in a revolutionary spirit to implement the great objectives devolving upon us from the documents of the 13th RCP Congress and the mobilizing tasks formulated in the masterly speech you made at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum in order to confer a new, superior quality to our battle and professional training, and we also report to you that we also work in all the other sectors of activity to organize and carry out the entire instructional-educational process in accordance with the requirements of the national military doctrine.

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ROMANIA

SCINTEIA CONDEMS SOUTH AFRICA STATE OF EMERGENCY

AU181829 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jun 86 p 6

[Nicolae N. Lupu article: "Imposing a State of Emergency Will Not Stifle the Just Struggle of the African Population in the RSA!"]

[Text] Public opinion in our country has learned with profound indignation of the decision of the racist authorities in Pretoria to impose a state of emergency, for an unlimited period, across the whole territory of the Republic of South Africa [RSA]. This arbitrary measure, which is added to an uninterrupted row of crimes committed against the majority population in the RSA and the repeated aggression against the neighboring, independent, and sovereign African countries, stresses once again the deeply reactionary essence of apartheid and the fact that it is defiance of the whole civilized world and a threat to peace in Africa and throughout the world.

As is known, the respective decision was adopted only a few days before the 10th anniversary of the tragic events in Soweto, during which the South African police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of African youth, killing about 600 people and injuring 1,000. This decision is meant to stop the commemorative manifestations planned for 16 June and, primarily, to eliminate the demonstrations planned at the appeal of the ANC and of other organizations of the majority population. This fact is fully confirmed by the haste with which the authorities started to implement the provisions of the state of emergency. Immediately after the decision had been adopted--UPI reports--thousands of people, trade unionists, political leaders, clergy, and others were arrested. A special edition of the government newspaper, put out in Pretoria, informed that police forces were given discretionary powers in order to "maintain order"; street demonstrations and meetings are banned and those who violate these dispositions are punishable with up to 10 years of prison or a fine of more than 20,000 rands (about \$8,000). In some places--the international press agencies report--the forces of repression passed to concrete actions and new human victims have been registered.

These actions take place at a time when the racist authorities make much noise about implementing the so-called "constitutional reforms" and confirm once again that the Pretoria regime does not intend to give up its policy of oppressing the non-white population and suppressing bloodily any attempt

at changing the existing order. It is the second time within a year that the authorities have resorted to imposing the state of emergency in order to suppress the great anti-apartheid demonstrations for authentic reforms of the political system in the RSA. While in the first instance (21 July 1985-7 March 1986) it was a measure concerning only Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Cape areas, today, it concerns the whole territory of the country and the authorities continue to rely on the increased repressive power of the police, whose intervention in the period between September 1984 up to the present resulted in the number of Africans killed increasing to above 1,700 and of those retained without trial being more than 10,000.

The new arbitrary action by the South African authorities--which increases political tension in a country which has already become a real volcano--provoked a reaction of strong opposition among the African population in the RSA. "By imposing the state of emergency--the ANC speaker said--the Pretoria regime makes preparations for a confrontation with the people; but it does not have the necessary means to control the situation. The South African blacks will respond to the provocations of the authorities by rising by the millions and turning the strike planned for 16 June into the most impressive in the whole history of the RSA." Similar statements have been made by the representatives of the United Democratic Front, which comprises more than 700 organizations fighting against apartheid.

At the same time, the new measures taken by Pretoria have caused a violent wave of protest throughout the world, by international organizations, governments, and political figures of the most varied persuasions who energetically expressed their disapproval and indignation. Meeting upon the request of the African countries, the Security Council demanded that the state of emergency be lifted immediately and that detainees be released. A similar position has been adopted by the OAU. Among the countries which have taken a stance against the imposition of the state of emergency in the RSA are even those countries which usually take a lenient stance toward the Pretoria government. Thus, the U.S. President stated that "a real civil war" has been taking place of late, Great Britain expressed concern, while the EC countries have decided to close their embassies in Pretoria on the day when the Soweto events will be commemorated.

The world conference on sanctions against South Africa's racist policy organized by the United Nations in cooperation with the OAU and the Nonaligned Movement--a conference that will be held in Paris as of Monday--will, undoubtedly, be a fresh opportunity to denounce the autocratic policy of apartheid.

In the spirit of its consistent policy of active solidarity with the struggle waged by peoples for independence and freedom, socialist Romania firmly condemns the new repressive action by the Pretoria authorities and their policy of racial discrimination. Our country firmly supports the just struggle waged by the majority population and its aspirations for equality of rights, a consistent position that as expressed in numerous documents of our party and state and which was reflected in Romania's

activity within the United Nations and other international forums and especially during the meetings the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, had with Oliver Tambo, ANC chairman.

On the "International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling Peoples of Southern Africa--the Day of Soweto," the Romanian people once again assert their complete solidarity with the just struggle of the majority population in the RSA and express their conviction that no kind of repressions will be able to bar their road to liberty and that the moment when their legitimate aspirations will be fulfilled is not far off.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

SOVIET PHOTODOCUMENTARY EXHIBITION--Bucharest AGERPRES 20 June 1986--Part of the program of cultural exchanges between Romania and the Soviet Union, the photodocumentary exhibition "The People and Party in Unity" opened in Bucharest, on June 20, dedicated to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The exhibition highlights the particular role of the 27th Congress of the CPSU in the life and evolution of the Soviet society. A section of the exhibition is devoted to the Romanian-Soviet collaboration in policy, economy and culture. Moments are presented from meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev, which gave new dimensions to the Romanian-Soviet relations, to the benefit and in the interests of both countries, of the general cause of socialism and peace. Tamara Dobrin, deputy chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, and L.B. Polishchuk, councillor of the embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, made speeches at the opening. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 20 Jun 86 AU] /12858

FOLEA HEADS NEW MINISTRY--To uniformly coordinate and perfect the activity in the area of mining, oil, and geology, by State Council decree the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology has been set up through the merger of the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Petroleum and Geology which cease their activity. By presidential decree, comrade Ioan Folea was appointed as minister of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jun 86 p 5 AU] /12858

CITIZEN ON HUNGER STRIKE--Paris, June 22 (AFP)--A 62-year-old woman of Romanian origin was being fed intravenously in a Paris hospital Sunday, 14 days after she began a hunger strike outside the Romanian Embassy. Victoria Prudhomme had been starving herself to help her son, Nicolas Popovici, 33, get an exit visa from the Romanian Government to come to France. Mr Popovici, a Romanian national, has made 47 fruitless applications for an exit visa, and his mother said she would go back to the embassy and resume her protest once she gets out of hospital. Mrs Prudhomme began her hunger strike alongside Serghei Popp, who settled down at the embassy gates on May 29 to force Romanian officials to issue tourist visas to his son and daughter. Mr Popp's daughter arrived in Paris last Friday, accompanied by her husband but not by their children. His son is still in Romania, awaiting a visa. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1646 GMT 22 Jun 86 AU] /12858

'SPY' SENTENCED IN FRANCE--Lyons, France, June 24 (AFP)--A convicted Romanian spy, Vincenzo Benedetto [name as received], was jailed Tuesday for three years, but walked out of court a free man. Benedetto had 25 months of his term suspended, and the remaining 11 months covered the time he spent in preventative detention after having been arrested in June 1980. The public prosecutor, who had asked for a five-year term, four years suspended, described Benedetto as being a "'mole' who has not yet been activated." Documentary evidence indicated that Benedetto, 49, who arrived in France in 1968, had been assigned to pinpoint Romanian political dissidents in France. His cover was blown by a Romanian refugee who once worked for Romanian intelligence. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 24 Jun 86 AU] /12858

GIOSAN RECEIVES MALTESE PARLIAMENTARIANS--Bucharest AGERPRES 28 Jun 86--The Chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], Nicolae Giosan, had an interview on Monday, June 23, with a parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Malta led by Daniel Micallef, speaker of the House of Representatives, now on a visit to Romania. The delegation includes James Farrugia and Cettina Darmenia Brincat, members of the House of Representatives. During the talks information was exchanged on parliamentary activity, with emphasis on the role of the legislative fora in the two countries in the development and diversification of Romanian-Maltese relations of friendship and collaboration. Stress was also laid on the contribution the parliaments and parliamentarians in Romania and the Republic of Malta can make to the general efforts toward establishing a climate of peace and understanding in Europe and throughout the world. The same day the guests had interviews with Foreign Minister Ilie Vaduva and with executives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRESS in English [no time given] 28 June 86 AU] /12858

TURKISH MINISTER OF STATE--Minister of State Abdullah Tenekeci has left for Romania to attend the Turkish-Romanian Joint Economic Committee meetings to be held in Bucharest. In a statement at Istanbul Ataturk Airport, Tenekeci said that trade and economic relations will be reviewed at the talks which will begin on 25 June. He added that in the talks the sides are aiming at increasing the bilateral trade volume which currently stands at \$110 million annually. Noting that Romania is exerting great efforts to develop bilateral relations in almost every sphere, Tenekeci expressed the belief that these relations will yield positive results for both countries. He concluded by saying that he will also hold bilateral contacts with Romanian officials in Bucharest. Tenekeci and the delegation accompanying him will return to Turkey on 1 July. [Text] [Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2000 GMT 24 Jun 86 TA] /8918

MALTESE PARLIAMENTARIANS DEPART--Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/6/1986--The parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Malta, headed by Daniel Micallef, speaker of the House of Representatives, concluded its visit paid to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly on June 29. During their Romanian sojourn, the Maltese parliamentarians had interviews at the People's Council of Suceava County and at the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German nationalities. They also visited economic and socio-cultural units in the capital and in Suceava County. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1408 GMT 29 Jun 86 AU] /8918

CEAUSESCU INAUGURATES PIONEERS PALACE--Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/6/1986--RCP General Secretary, President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu inaugurated on June 28 the new building of the Palace of Young Pioneers and Homeland's Falcons, in the Youth Park in Bucharest. The inaugural ceremony was attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, and the leaders of the children and youth organizations of Romania. In behalf of all children of the country, Poliana Cristescu, chairman of the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, expressed thanks and gratitude for the conditions of life, education, work and recreation created for children and youth. At the inaugural festivity Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor. The RCP and Romanian state leader then cut the inaugural ribbon of the new building and unveiled the memorial plaque at its entrance. Then Nicolae Ceausescu, Mme Elena Ceausescu, the other members of the RCP and Romanian state visited the palace and a show that mirrors the life and activity of children in Romania. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1230 GMT 28 Jun 86 AU] /8918

PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON AWARDS--A 5,000-word "presidential decree on award of distinctions of the SR of Romania to some county party organizations, county people's councils, economic units, and research and designing institutions" signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, datelined "Bucharest, 23 June 1986." The decree lists the local party organizations which were awarded the highest distinctions and the local people's councils which were awarded for their "outstanding results attained in the competition among county people's councils for fulfilling the tasks of the 1985 plan." The major part of the decree lists the local units--which were awarded distinctions and titles--according to fields of activity, such as industry, construction, agriculture and forestry, transportation and telecommunications, goods turnover, services to the population, scientific research institutes, technological engineering institutes, design institutes, and agricultural institutes. [Editorial Report] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /8918

TURKISH PREMIER'S VISIT--Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/6/1986--Turgut Ozal, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, and his wife called at the Museum of History of the Socialist Republic of Romania on June 29 in the afternoon. Participating in the visit were the officials accompanying the Turkish premier. On arrival the guests were welcomed by Suzana Cadea, chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education. During the visit they were shown testimonies of history, culture and civilization of the Romanian people. They next visited the show "Proofs of the Affection, High Esteem and Profound Valuation Enjoyed by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, of the Ample Relations of Friendship and Collaboration Between the Romanian People and Other Countries' Peoples." The same day the Bucharest subway was visited as well as residential districts in Bucharest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 29 Jun 86 AU] /8918

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